Divers *Historicall*

DISCOURSES

Of the late *Popular*

INSURRECTIONS

In Great *BRITAIN*,

And *IRELAND*,

Tending all, to the asserting of Truth, in Vindication of their MAJESTIES;

By *James Howell* Esquire;

Som of which Discourses were strangled in the Presse by the *Power* which Then SWAYED,

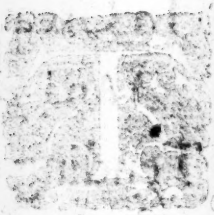
But now are newly retreev'd, collected, and Publish'd by *Richard Royston*.

The first TOME.

LONDON,
Printed by *F. Grismond*.
1661.

Belua multorum capitum Plebs vana vocatur,
Plus satis Hoc Angli nuper docuere Popelli.
Πελως Πολυκεφαλον.
I: H:

The People is a Beast which Heads hath many,
England of late hath shew'd This more then any.



TO HIS

MAJESTY

SIR,

THese *Historical* Discourses (set forth in such variety of dresses) having given so much satisfaction to the world for the asserting of Truth, in *Vindication* of Your Royal Father of ever blessed Memory, and som of *them* relating also to Your Majesty, I humbly conceiv'd might be proper for Your Majesties perusal & Patronage.

Concerning the *Author* ther of

his *name* needed not to have bin prefix'd, *He* being ſo univerſally well known and diſtinguiſhd from other *Writers* both at home and abroad by his *ſtile*, which made one of the Higheſt Wits of theſe Times ſay of Him,

Author hic ex *Genio* notus, ut *Ungue Leo.*

God Almighty bleſſe Your Majeſty with a continuance of Happineſs, and daily encreaſe of Glory, ſo prayeth

Your Majeſties moſt loyal, and humble Subject,

ROYSTON.

A Catalog of the ſeverall Peeces that are here contain'd.

I. A *Dialog twixt* Patricius *and* Peregrin *preſently after* Kintonfield *Battaile, which was the firſt Book that came forth for Vindication of His Majeſty.*

II. *The ſecond part of that Diſcours.*

III. *A ſeaſonable Advoice ſent to* Philip *late Earl of* Pembrock, *to mind him of the ſeverall ſolemn Oaths whearby he was baund to adhere to the King.*

IV. *A* Manifeſto *ſent in His Majeſties name to the Reformed Churches, and Princes beyond the Seas touching His Religion.*

V. *Apologs, and Emblemes, in whoſe Moralls the Times are repreſented.*

VI. *Of the land of* Ire, *or a Diſcours of that horrid Inſurrection in* Ireland, *diſcovering the tru Cauſes therof.*

VII. *The* Sway *of the* Sword, *or a Diſcurs of the Common Militia or Soldiery of the Land, proving, That the Command therof* in chief, *belongs to the Ruling Prince.*

VIII. *An Italian* Proſpective, *through which* England *may diſcern the deſperat condition ſhe ſtands in.*

IX. *A Nocturnall Progreſſe, or perambulation of moſt Countries in Chriſtendom.*

X. *A Vindication of His Majeſty touching a Letter He writ to* Rome *from* Madrid, *in Anſwer to a Letter which Pope* Gregory *the* 15*th. had ſent Him upon paſſing the* Diſpenſation *for concluding the* Match.

XI. *Of the Treaty of the Ile of Wight, and the Death of His Majeſty.*

XII. *Adviſe from the prime Statesmen of* Florence, *how* England *ſhold come to Her ſelf again, which can be by no other means under Heaven, but by calling in the* King, *and that, in a free confident way without* Articles, *but what He ſhall be pleas'd to offer Himſelf.*

The

THE TRU

Informer,

WHO

DISCOVERS

To the World the first grounds

Of this ugly

REBELLION

And Popular *TUMULTS*

In *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland.*

Deducing the Causes therof in an Historicall Discours from their Originall.

——*Neutrum modò, Mas modò Vulgus.*

Written in the Prison of the *Fleet* Anno 1642.

THE TRUE

Informer,

WHO

DISCOVERS

to the World the first grounds

OF this and

REBELLIOUS

and Popular TUMULTS

In England, Scotland, and

Ireland.

Enclosing the Causes thereof

in an Historical Discours from

their Original.

Neutrum modò, Mox modò Fulgur.

Written in the Prison of the Fleet

June 16 [illegible]

CASUALL DISCOURSES,

AND

Interlocutions

BETWIXT

Patricius and *Peregrin*,

Touching the *Diſtractions* of the *Times*,
VVith the *Cauſes* of them.

Patricius.

SUrely I ſhold know full well that face and phiſnomy: O Heavens! 'tis *Peregrin*. Gentle Sir, you are *well met*, and *welcom* to *England*, I am heartily glad of your ſafe arrivall, hoping now to apprehend ſome happie opportunity whereby I may requite part of thoſe worthy favours I received from you in divers places t'other ſide ſide of the Sea.

Peregrin.

Sir, I am as joyfull to ſee you, as any friend

I have upon earth; but touching favours, they deſerve not ſuch an acknowledgment, I muſt confeſſe my ſelf to be farr in the arrear, therfore you teach me what I ſhold ſpeak to *you* in that point: But amongſt other offices of Friendſhip you have bin pleaſed to do me from time to time, I give you many thanks for the faithfull correſpondence you have held withme, ſince the time of our ſeparation, by intercours of Letters, the *beſt ſort of fuell to warm affection, and to keep life in that noble vertue Friendſhip*, which they ſay abroad, is in danger to periſh under this cold *Inſulary clime* for want of practiſe.

Patricius.

Truely, Sir, you ſhold have had an account of matters hence more amply and frequently, but that of late it hath bin uſuall, and allowed by authority, to intercept and break open any Letters; but private men need not complain ſo much, ſince the diſpatches of Ambaſſadors, whoſe Packets ſhold be held as ſacred as their Perſons, have bin commonly open'd, beſides ſome outrages offered their houſes and ſervants; nay, ſince *their Majeſties* Letters under the Cabinet Signet have bin broke up, and other counterfeit ones printed and publiſhed in their names.

Peregrin.

Peregrin.

Indeed I muſt confeſſe the report hereof hath kept a great noiſe abroad, and *England* hath ſuffered much in point of *national* repute in this particular; for even among *Barbarians*, it is held a kind of ſacriledge to open Letters; nay, it is held a baſer kind of burglary, then to break into a Houſe, Chamber, or Cloſet: for that is a plundering of outward things onely, but he who breaks open ones Letters which are the *Idea's* of the mind, may be ſaid to rip up his breſt, to plunder and rifle his very brain, and rob him of his moſt pretious and ſecreteſt thoughts.

Patricius.

Well, let us leave this diſtaſtfull ſubject, when theſe fatall commotions ceaſe, this cuſtom, I hope, will be abhorred in *England:* But now, that you are newly arrived, and ſo happily met, I pray be pleaſed to make me partaker of ſome forraign news, and how the ſquares go betwixt *France* and *Spain*, thoſe two great wheels, that draw after their motion (ſome more, ſome leſſe) all the reſt of the Weſtern world: and when you have done, I will give you account of the ſtate of things in *England.*

Peregrin.

I thought you had ſo abounded with domeſtick news, that you had had no liſt or leiſure to hear any forrain; but to obey your commands, you know that I have been any time theſe ſix years a Land-loper up and down the world, and truly I could not ſet foot on any Chriſtian ſhore that was in a perfect condition of peace, but it was engag'd either in a *direct*, *auxiliary* or *collaterall* war, or ſtanding upon it's guard in continuall apprenſions and alarmes of fear: For, ſince that laſt flaming Uſher of Gods vengeance, that direful *Comet* of the yeer 1618. appear'd in the heavens, ſome malevolent and angry ill-aſpected ſtar hath had the predominance ever ſince, and by it's maligne influxes, made ſtrange unuſuall impreſſions upon the humors of ſubjects, by inciting them to ſuch inſurrections, revolts, and tumults; which cauſed a Jewiſh *Rabbi* to ſay lately, that it ſeems the grand *Turk* thrives extraordinarily in his devotions, it being one of his prime prayers to *Mahomet*, that he ſhold prevaile with God Almighty to *continue diſcentions ſtill among Chriſtian Princes*. And truly, as the caſe ſtands, one may ſay, that the Europæan world is all in pieces;

you

you know well with what fearfull fits of a high burning fever poor *Germany* hath been long ſhaken, which hath wrought a Lethargie in ſome of her members, by waſting of the vital ſpirits which ſhold diffuſe themſelves equally through that great body; and how ſhe ſtill toſtereth a cold *Northern Gueſt* (the *Swed*) within her boſom, and is in an annuall fear of a worſe from the *Levant*: In the *Netherlands* one ſhall hear the half-ſtarv'd ſouldier murmur in every corner, and railing againſt his King, and ready to mutiny for want of pay. In *France* you ſhall ſee the poor *Aſinin* Peaſan half weary of his life, his face being ſo pitiful grownd, ever and anon with new tallies. You know ther are ſom *Soverain Princes*, who have a long time wandred up and down in exile, being outed of their own antient Patrimoniall Territories, and little hopes yet, God wot, of reſtoring them. The world knows how *Savoy* is become of late a kind of Province to *France*; Nay, *Spain*, who hath been ſo dexterous to put her neighbours together by the eares, and to foment war a far off, to keep her own home ſecure, is now her ſelf in the midſt of two fearfull fires, kindled on both ſides of her by quite-

revolted ſubjects, *viz.* the *Portugues* and *Catalan*, which ſo puzzles her, *that ſhee cannot tell what Saint to pray unto.* The *Venetian* alſo, with the *Pope*, and all the Princes of *Italy*, are arming apace; the *Hollander* onely, *Salamander-like*, thrives in theſe flames: and as I have heard of ſome that by a long habitual cuſtom could feed on poyſon, and turn it to nouriſhment, ſo *Hans* alone can turn War to a Trade and grow fat by it.

Now, Sir, being weary of eating my bread in ſuch a diſtracted world abroad, and hoping to take ſome ſweet repoſe in *England*, I find that ſhee is in as bad a caſe, if not worſe, then any other. So much news I give you in a lump, I will be more particular with you ſom other time, if you pleaſe to ſpare me now.

Patricius.

I hear, not without much reſentment, theſe pithy expreſſions you have been pleaſed to make of the torn eſtate of *Europe* abroad; and ſince you mention that *blazing Star*, I remember what a Noble Knight told me ſome yeers ago, That the *Aſtronomers*, who lay ſentinel to watch the motion and aſpect of that *Comet*, obſerv'd that the tail of it having pointed at divers Climats, at laſt it

ſeem'd

ſeem'd to look directly on theſe *North-weſt Ilands*, in which poſture it ſpent it ſelfe, and ſo extinguiſh'd; as if thereby it meant to tell the world, that theſe *Iſlands* ſhould be the Stage whereupon the laſt act of the Tragedie ſhould be play'd. And how many *Scenes* have paſſed already, both here and in *Ireland*, we know, God wot, by too too wofull and freſh experience.

Peregrin.

There is a ſaying *When your neighbours houſe is on fire, by it's light you may ſee in what danger your own ſtands:* And was *England* ſo blind and blockiſh, as not to take warning by ſo many fearfull combuſtions abroad? When I took my leave laſt of her, I left her in ſuch a compleat condition of happines, both in *Court*, *Country*, *City* and *Sea*, that ſhee was the envie of all *Europ*, in ſo much, that that *Golden* Verſe might be fitly applied to her *then Golden* times,

Mollia ſecuræ peragebant otia Gentes.

The *Court* was never ſo glorious, being hanſelld every yeer almoſt with a new Royal offſpring; the *Gentry* no where more gallant and ſportfull; the *Citizen* never more gorgeous and rich, and ſo abounding with treaſure,

bullion and buildings, that no age can parallel; *Commerce*, inward and outward was never at that height; the *cuſtomes* increaſing every yeer to admiration; the narrow *Seas* were never guarded with braver Ships, nor the navie Royall for number of veſſels and magazines of all ſorts of materials was ever ſo well repleniſhed; the *Univerſities* had never ſuch ſpringing dayes: and laſtly, the *Church* did ſo flouriſh, that amongſt the reſt of the reformed Churches of Chriſtendome, I have heard her call'd the *Church triumphant*.

Beſides, *Ireland* was arriv'd almoſt to the ſame degree of proſperity, for all the arrerages of the Crowne were paid, and not a peny ſent hence for many yeeres to maintain the ſtanding army there, or for any other publick charge, as formerly; *Traſique* came to that mighty height of encreaſe, that in few years the Crown cuſtomes and impoſts came to be five times higher. In fine, *Ireland* was brought not only to ſubſiſt of her ſelfe, but inabled to contribut towards the filling of the *Engliſh* Exchequer, and to make ſome retribution of thoſe vaſt expences the Crown of *England* hath been at any time theſe 400 yeeres to reduce her to civility; her boggs

were

were almoſt all dry'd up, and made good land: her mudde-walls turn'd apace to Brick in divers places, ſo that in one Sommer that I fortun'd to be there, above 50. new Brick-houſes were built in one Towne. But it hath been the fate of that Iſland, to be oft-times neer a condition of a ſetled happineſs, and yet to have ſome odd accident ſtill intervene to croſſe it.

In concluſion, there wanted nothing to make *England* and her united Crowns ſo exactly bleſſed, that ſhe might have aſſumed the title of one of the *Fortunat Iſlands*. Good Lord, how comes it to paſſe, that ſhe is now fallen into ſuch horrid diſtempers, and like a diſtracted body, laying hands upon her ſelf, would thruſt the ſword of civil war into her own bowels? I beſeech you, Sir, impart unto me the true cauſe of this change; for I know none ſo capable to do it as your ſelf.

Patricius.

Infandum, Peregrine, *jubes renovare dolorem*:

Firſt, Sir, in the generall you know, that it is with the Regions upon *Earth*, as it is with thoſe of the *Ayre*, ſometimes we have a clear azur'd skie with ſoft gentle ventilations, and a ſweet ſerenitie the whole Hemeſphere over; at other times we know the face of

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the heavens is over-caſt with frowns, with Frog vapors, and thick clouds of various ſhapes, which look like Monſters, hovering up and down, break at laſt into thunder and fulgurations, and ſo diſquiet and raiſe a kind of war in the *Aereall Common-wealth*. Juſt ſo in the Regions that are diſpers'd up and down this earthly Globe, peepled with men (which are but a compoſition of the *Elements*) you have ſometimes a gentle calm of peace and quietude, with a general tranquillitie all the Countrey over; at other times you have ugly miſhapen clouds of jealouſies, fears, and diſcontentments riſe up, which break out at laſt into acts of diſobedience, rebellion, and fury. And as thoſe Aereall *Meteors* and *Monſters* above, are ingendered of thoſe watery fogs and miſts which are drawn up out of fennie and rotten low grounds here upon earth; ſo in the *Region of the mind*, the ill vapors which aſcend to the brain from rotten and impoſtumated hearts, from deſperate and male-contented *humoriſts* are the cauſes of all civil commotions and diſtempers in State. But they have much to anſwer for in the world to come (though they eſcape it in this) who for any private intereſt or reſpect

ſpect whatſoever, either of *Promotion*, *Vain-glory*, *Revenge*, *Malice*, or *Envie*, will embroyl and plunge their own native Country in any publick ingagement or civil war, by putting a partition-wall betwixt their ſoverain Prince and their fellow-ſubjects. Truely, in my opinion, theſe may be called the worſt kind of *Betrayers* of their Countreys. But I am too far tranſported from ſatisfying your requeſt in relating the true cauſes of theſe calamities, I will now fall to work, and bring you to the very ſource of them.

Ther is a pack of perverſe people (compoſed for the moſt part of the ſcummie and baſeſt ſort) multiplied in *England*, who by a kind of natural inclination, are oppoſit ſo point blank to *Monarchy* in State, and *Hierarchy* in Church, that I doubt if they were in Heven (whither 'tis to be fear'd they run a great hazard ever to enter, it being a rule, that *he who is rotten-hearted to his King, can never be right-hearted to his Creator*) I ſay if theſe men were in Heven, they would go near to repine at the *Monarchical* power of God Almighty himſelf, as alſo at the degrees of Angels, and the poſtures of holineſs in the Church triumphant. They call every *Crotchet* of the brain, *tenderneſs of conſcience* for-

forsooth: which being well examined, is nothing else but a meer *spirit of contradiction*, of malice and disobedience to all higher powers which possesseth them. Ther are no constitutions either Ecclesiastical or Civil can please them, but they wold cast both into such and such a *mould*, which their *crack'd* brains wold fain devise, yet are never able to bring to any perfection; They are ever labouring to bring Religion to the dock, and to be new trimm'd, but they wold take down her fore-Castle, and scarce allow her the Kings Armes to adorn her: They are great listners after any Court-news, and prick up their ears when any thing is spoken of King, Queen, or Privie Councellour, and are always ready, though upon loose trust, to take up any report whereby they may whisper in conventicles and corners, and so traduce the Government. These great *Zelots* use to look upon themselves most commonly through multiplying glasses, which make them appear to be such huge *Santons*, that it renders them not onely uncharitable in their opinions of others, but Luciferian-like proud in their own conceit, insomuch that they seem to scorn all the world besides, beleeving that they are

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he only *Elect* whose souls work according to the motion of the Spirit: that they are the true Children of promise, *whose faces alone look towards Heven*; They are more pleased with some new reach or fancy, (that may puzzle the *pericranium*) than a Frenchman is in some new faction in cloathing: They are neareſt to the nature of the Jew of any people upon earth, and will converſe with him ſooner than with ſome ſort of Chriſtians; And as in their phariſaicall *Diſpoſitions* they ſymbolize with the *Few*, ſo in ſome of their *poſitions* they jump pat with the *Jeſuit*: for though they are both in the extremes, and as contrary one to the other, as the points of a diameter, yet their opinions and practiſes are concentrique, *viz.* to depreſſe *regall power*; Both of them *wold bind their Kings in Chaines, and the Nobles in links of Iron*; They both deny all *paſsive obedience*, and as the one wold have the morter of the Temple tempred with blood, ſo the other wold beat Religion into the brain with the poleaxe. Their greateſt maſter-piece of policy is to forge counterfeit news, and to divulge and diſperſe it as far as they can to amuſe the world, for the advancement of their deſigns, and ſtrengthing their party:

But

But the *Jesuit* doth it more cunningly and modestly, for he fetcheth his news from far, so that before the falshood of it can be contrould, his work is commonly done, and the news forgotten; But these later *politi-tians* use to raise lies hard by home, so that the grossenes and palpableness of them is presently discovered. Besides, to avoid the extremes of the other, these *later* seem to fall into flat prophanness, for they may be called a kind of enemies to the very *Name*, *Crosse*, and *Church* of Christ. Touching the first, They repine at any reverence to be done unto the name of Jesus, though spontaneous, not coercive. For the second, which was held from the beginning to be the *badg* and *Banner* of a Christian, they cry up the Crosse to be the *mark of the b ast*; And for the last, *viz.* the Church, they wold have it to be neither *beautifull*, *holy*, nor *amiable*, which are the three main properties that God requires in his house. To conclude, when any comes to be seasond with this sower leaven, he seems to degenerat presently from the nature and garb of a Gentleman, and fals to be of a sordid and low disposition, narrow hearted and close handed; to be timerous, cunning and jealous,

lous, and far from the common freedom, and ſweetneſs of morall ſociety, and from all generous and loyal thoughts towards his King and Country.

Theſe, theſe have bin the chiefeſt machinators, and engeneers Englands unhappy diviſions, who Viper-like have torn the entrailes of their own mother their dear Country: But ther were other extern concurrent cauſes, and to find them out, I muſt look *Northward*, for there the cloud began to condenſe firſt;

You know Sir, the *Scot's nation* were ever uſed to have their King perſonally reſident amongſt them, and though King *James* by reaſon of his *age*, *bounty*, and *long breeding* there, with other advantages, drew ſuch extraordinary reſpect from them, that they continued in good conformity: yet ſince his death, they have been over-heard to mutter at the *remoteneſſe* and abſence of their King, and that they ſhold become now a kind of *province* by reaſon of ſuch a diſtance: ſome of their Nobles and Gentry found not at the Engliſh Court, nor at his Majeſties Coronation in *Edenburgh* that *Countenance*, *Familiarity*, *Benefit* and *Honours* which haply they expected, and 'tis well known who he was,

was, that having been denied to be *lorded*, (*David Lesley*) took a pet, and went discontented to his country, hoping that some title added to the wealth he had got abroad, should have purchased him more respect. These discontented parties tamperd with the mercenary preachers up and down Scotland, to obtrude to the people what doctrines they put into their mouthes, so that the pulpits every where rung of nothing but of invectives against certain obliquities and Solæcismes (and I cannot tell what) in government, and many glances they had upon the *English* Church: yet all this while there was not matter enough for an insurrection, nor to dispose the peoples hearts to a mutiny, until by the policy (as some affirmed) of the said *discontented party* the English *Lyturgie* was sent thither: this by the incitement of those fiery *pulpiteers*, was cryed up to be the greatest Idoll that possibly could be brought into their *Kerke*, insomuch that when it was first offer'd to be read, the woman and baier sort of mechaniks threw stooles and stones at the Bishops heads, and were ready to tear them in peeces. And here began the storm. His Majestie having notice hereof, sent a most gracious proclamation, signifying, that where-

as

as he had recommended that *Book* to be practis'd amongst them, wherein he himself served God Almighty twice a day, he did it out of a pious endeavour to breed an *uniformity* of publick Divine service in all his dominions, specially in that his *native* Kingdom. But since it had produced such dangerous effects, he was contented to revoke it absolutely; for it was never his purpose to *press* the practise of the said book upon the consciences of any, he did onely *commend*, not absolutely *command*, the use of it; Therefore he exhorted and required that every one unto whom it had given any scandal, shold return to his pristine obedience, and serve God as formerly, offering herewith a gracious pardon, and to passe an Act of *Amnestia* for an abolition of all faults passed.

Peregrin.

And would not this suffice? In *naturall* motions we find that the cause being taken away, the effect ceaseth, and will not this hold in *civil* Actions?

Patricius.

No, this wold not serve the turn, but there was a further reach in it, and for an inch to take an ell: you know the *Scots* since their

ſingle Lion came to quarter with our *three*, are much elevated in their ſpirits, more reſpected, emploied and truſted abroad, they are heightned in their reſolutions and aims, and will queſtionleſs be daily more and more. You have heard of a Mine that reach'd from our exchequer to *Edenburgh*. And I beleeve you have not forgot *Boccolinies* balance, that was ſhewed us in *Italie*, wherein *Lorenzo de Medici* weighed all the ſtates of Chriſtendom, and throwing in *England* amongſt the reſt, you know how much he made *her* to weigh leſs by this addition. The former *Proclamation* I ſay, and *Pardon* would not ſuffice, but they took opportunity to fiſh in thoſe troubled waters, and vent their ſpleen further, by an utter extirpation of *Epiſcopacy*, and by trampling the *mitre* under their feet, hoping *to have ſom of the birds plumes, being pluckt, to feather their own neſts*; And they brought their work about; Good Lord, what a deal of dirt was preſently thrown into the *Biſhops* faces by every Rurall pettie Clerk! what infamous ballads were ſung, what a thick clowd of Epidemical hatred hung ſuddenly over them, ſo far, that a dog with black and white ſpots was called a *Biſhop* amongſt them up and down the ſtreets. The

The chiefest contrivers of this up-roare, finding their design to go on so well, and perceiving the whole Country so eagerly bent against *Bishops*, (and what artifices and suggestions were us'd to render them so odious is incredible) but finding withall his Majestie unwilling to alter the government his father (of so fresh and famous memory) had left him, and to which he had bin sworn at his Coronation, they put themselves in arms, and rais'd forces to beat down the *mitre* with the *sword*, if the *scepter* would not do it. To the frontiers they came with a great Army, (not half so great as was bruted) pretending they came as Petitioners (though they brought their Petition upon the pikes point.) Some of the great ones about the King grew cold in the action: And what a pacification was then shuffled up, and how a Parliament was called thereupon in *Scotland*, with other passages, is a fitter subject for a story then a discourse.

Peregrin.

I could have wished two things, that either His Majesty had given them battail *then*, having the flower of his Nobility and Gentry with him, who I understood came with all cheerfulnesse and promptitude to at-

tend him, or elſe that after the ſaid pacification, His Majeſtie had ſhaken off all jealouſies, and with a royall freedom and a commanding confidence gone amongſt them to hanceH their new Parliament Houſe at *Edenburgh*; for it is probable, it had averted thoſe ſhowers and cataracts of miſeries which have fallen npon us ſince; but I pray Sir, proceed.

Patricius.

As they ſay, *there is no wind but blows ſome-body good,* ſo it was thought, this Northern clowd did *England* ſome advantage, for a Parliament was ſummond hereupon: a Parliament do I call it? it was rather an *Embryo* of a Parliament, an *Ephemeran* of 20. days. In this ſitting His Majeſty declared unto both Houſes the indignities he had received by His Scotch Subjects, and therefore propos'd a ſupply to be made of twelve ſubſidies to ſuppreſs that Rebellion; and in lieu thereof he was willing to forbear and utterly to aboliſh the Ship-money, which he had reaſon to think legall at firſt, being adviſed thereunto by *Noy* his Attorney Generall, who had ſuch a mighty repute in the Law; yet he would not reſt ther, but he adviſed further with his *learned*

Coun-

Councell, who concurred in opinion with *Noy*; Nor wold he reſt ther alſo, but he had the approbation of all the *Judges ſingly*, and afterwards of nine of the twelve *jointly* upon a demur. This was enough to induce his conſcience to hold it legall all this while; It was clearly proved that the moneys levied this way, were employed to no other but the intended ſervice, *the garding of the narrow Seas*; and not onely for that, but to preſerve his right of Dominion in them, being the faireſt flower of his Crown, which was not onely diſcourſed of abroad, but began to be queſtioned by the French Cardinall: And touching danger, how could *England* be but in apparant dangers? conſideriug how all her next neighbours were in actuall hoſtility, which made huge fleets of men of war, both *French*, *Dunkerkers*, *Hamburgers* and *Hollanders* to tail and flaunt ever and anon in her *Channells*, and hard before her royall *Chambers*: nor came ther one penny of that publick contribution to his privat coffers, but he added much of his own demeans for the maintenance of a royal fleet every ſommer: yet he was ready to paſſe any Bill for the utter aboliſhing of the ſaid *Ship-money*, and for redreſſing of any

other grievances, provided they wold enable him to ſuppreſs this *Scots* Rebellion: ſome ſay the Houſe was inclinable to comply with his Majeſties demands, but (as the ill ſpirit wold have it) that Parliament was ſuddenly brok up, and I wold they who gave that Counſel had bin then in *Arabia*, or beyond the Line, in their way to *Madagaſcar*, who nevertheleſſe have got to be in high requeſt with this preſent Parliament.

Among others, old Sir *Harry Vane* was one, who, when the Houſe ſeem'd willing to give ſix ſubſidies, and the King inclinable to take them; The ſaid *Vane* being the Secretary of State ſtood up, and ſaid, His Majeſty expected no leſs then twelve, which words did ſo incenſe and diſcompoſe the Houſe, that they drew after them that unhappy diſſolution.

His Majeſty being reduced to theſe ſtraits, and reſenting ſtill the inſolence of the *Scot*, propoſed the buſines to His Privy Councell, who ſuddenly made up a conſiderable and moſt noble ſumme for his preſent ſupply, whereunto divers of his domeſtick ſervants and Officers did contribut. Amongſt others who were active herein, the Earl of *Strafford* beſtir'd himſelf notably,

bly, and having got a Parliament to be call'd in *Ireland* he went over, and with incredible celeritie raiſed 8000. men, who procured money of that Parliament to maintain them, and got over thoſe angry Seas again in the compaſſe of leſſe then ſix weeks. You may infer hence to what an exact uncontrollable obedience he had reduced that Kingdom, as to bring about ſo great a work with ſuch a ſuddennes and facilitie.

An armie was alſo raiſed here, which marched to the North, and there fed upon the Kings pay a whole Summer. The *Scot* was not idle all this while; but having punctuall intelligence of every thing that paſſed at Court, as farre as what was debated in the Cabinet Councel, and ſpoken in the bedchamber, (and herein amongſt many others, the Scot had infinite advantage of us) He armed alſo, and preferring to make *England* the ſtage of the warre, rather then his own countrey, and to invade rather then to be invaded, He got over the *Tweed*, and found the paſſage open, and as it were made for him all the way till hee came to the *Tine*, and though there was a conſiderable army of horſe and foot at *Newcaſtle*, yet they never

offered ſo much as to face him all the while. At *Newburgh* indeed there was a ſmall skirmiſh, but the *Engliſh* foot would not fight, ſo *Newcaſtle* gates flew open to the *Scot* without any reſiſtance at all, where it is thought he had more friends then foes, and who were their friends beſides for this invaſion, I hope *Time*, and the *Tribunall* of Juſtice will one day diſcover.

His Majeſty being then at *York*, ſummoned all his Nobles to appear, to adviſe with them in this exigence: Commiſſioners were appointed on both ſides, who met at *Rippon*, and how the hearts and courage of ſome of the *Engliſh* Barons did boil within them, to be brought to ſo diſadvantageous a Treatie with the *Scot*, you may well imagin. So the Treatie began, which the *Scot* wold not conform himſelf to do, unleſs he were firſt *unrebell'd* and made *Rectus in Curia*, and the Proclamation, wherein he was declared *Traitour*, revoked, alledging it wold be diſhonorable for His Majeſty to treat with *rebels*. This treaty was adjourned to *London*, where this preſent Parliament was ſummoned (which was one of the chiefeſt errands of the *Scot*, as ſome think.) And thus far by theſe ſad and ſhort degrees, have

I faithfully led you along to know the tru *Originals* of our calamities.

Peregrin.

Truly Sir, I muſt tell you, that to my knowledg theſe unhappy traverſes with *Scotland*, have made the *Engliſh* ſuffer abroad very much in point of National honour; Therefore I wonder much that all this while ther is none ſet awork to make a ſolid Apologie for *England* in ſome communicable language, (either in *French* or *Latin*) to rectifie the world in the truth of the thing, and to vindicat her, how ſhe was bought and ſold in this expedition, conſidering what a party the *Scot* had here, and how his comming in, was rather an *Invitation*, then an *Invaſion*, and I beleeve if it had bin in many parts of the world beſides, ſome of the *Commanders* had gone to the pot.

Patricius.

It is the practiſe of ſome *States* I know, to make ſacrifice of ſome eminent Miniſter, for *publick miſtakes*: but to follow the thred of my Diſcourſe. The Parliament being ſate, His Majeſty told them, that he was reſolved to caſt himſelf wholly upon the affection and fidelity of his people, where-

of

of they were the Repreſentative body: Therfore he wiſhed them to go roundly on to cloſe up the ruptures that were made by this infortunat war, and that the two armies, one domeſtick, the other forrain, which were gnawing the very bowels of the Kingdom, might be diſmiſſed. Touching grievances of any kind (and what State was ther ever ſo pure, but ſome corruption might creep into it?) He was very ready to redreſſe them: concerning the *Ship-money*, he was willing to paſs a Bill for the utter abolition of it, and to eſtabliſh the property of the ſubject; therefore he wiſhed them not to ſpend too much time about that. And for *Monopolies*, he deſired to have a liſt of them, and he wold damn them all in one Proclamation: Touching ill *Counſellours*, either in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, or *White-Hall*, either in *Church* or *State*, he was reſolved to protect none, Therefore he wiſhed that all jealouſies and miſunderſtandings might vaniſh: This, with ſundry other ſtrains of Princely grace he delivered unto them, but withall he told them, that they ſhold be very cautious how they ſhook the fram of an ancient Government too far, in regard it was like a *Watch*, *which being put aſunder*, can

can never be made up again, if the leaſt pin be left out.

So ther were great hopes of a calm, after that cold Northern ſtorm had ſo bluſtered, and that we ſhold be ſuddenly rid of the *Scot*, but that was leaſt intended, untill ſom deſigns were brought about. The Earl of *Strafford*, the *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*, the *Judges*, and divers *Monopoliſts* are clapt up, and you know who took a timely *flight* (Lord *Finch*) to the other ſide of the Sea. And in lieu of theſe, the *Biſhop of Lincoln* is enlarged, *Baſtwick*, *Burton*, and *Prynn* are brought into *London* with a kind of *Hoſanna*. His Majeſty gave way to all this, and to comply further with them, he took as it were into his boſom, I mean, he admitted to his Privy Councell thoſe Parliament Louds, who were held the greateſt Zelots amongſt them, that they might be witneſſes of his ſecret'ſt actions, and to one of them (the Lord *Say*) he gave one of the conſiderable ſt Offices of the Kingdom, by the reſignation of another moſt deſerving *Lord*, upon whom they could never faſten the leaſt miſdemeanour; yet this great new *Officer* wold come neither to the ſame Oratory, Chappell, or Church, to joyn in prayer

er with his Royall Maſter, nor communicat with him in any publick exerciſe of devotion: and may not this be called a tru *Recuſancie*? To another he gave one of the prime and moſt *repoſefull Offices* about his own Perſon at Court (The Earl of *Eſſex*) and thereby he might be ſaid to have given a *Staff* to beat himſelf. Moreover, partly to give his Subjects an Evidence how firmly he was rooted in his *Religion*, and how much he deſired the ſtrenthning of it abroad, The treaty of marriage went on 'twixt his *eldeſt daughter*, and the young Prince of *Orenge*. Hereunto may be added as a ſpeciall argument of compliance and grace, the paſſing of the Bill for a *Triennial* Parliament, and laſtly (which is the greateſt Evidence that poſſibly can be imagined, of that reall truſt and confidence he repoſed in them) he paſſed that prodigious Act of *Continuance*.

Peregrin.

Touching the *Triennial* Parliament, there may come ſome wholeſome fruit out of it, will keep all Officers in awe, and excite the Nobilitie, and young Gentrie of the Kingdome to ſtudie, and underſtand the Government of the land, and be able to ſit and ſerve their countrey in this great Senate: But for this

this Act of *Continuance* I understand it not; *Parliaments are good Physick, but ill meat*; They say abroad that *England* is turned hereby from a *Monarchy* to a *Democracy*, to a perpetual kind of *Quingentumvirat*; and whereas in former times ther was a *Heptarchy* of seven Kings in her, they say now she hath seventy times seven. But in lieu of these unparallell'd Acts of *grace* and *trust* to the Parl: what did the Parliament for the King all this while?

Patricius.

They promised, specially upon the passing of the last Act, *That they would make him the most glorious, the best beloved, and richest King that ever reigned in England:* and this they did with deep protestings and asseverations. But there intervened an ill-favoured accident which did much hurt, *viz.* A *Discourse* (for truely I think it was no more) but a discourse, which some green heads held to bring up the Northern armie, to check the Puritan partie, and the rabble of the citie: This kept a mightie noyse, and you know who fled upon it, and much use was made of it to make that cloud of jealousie which was but of the breadth of a hand before, to appear as big as a mountaine. Yet his Majestie continued still in passing Acts of *grace*,

and

and complying with them in every thing. Hee put over unto them the Earle of *Strafford*, who after a long coſtly triall (wherein he carried himſelf with as much acuteneſſe, dexteritie and eloquence, as humane braine could be capable of for his defence) hee was condemned to the Scaffold, and ſo made a ſacrifice to the *Scot*, who ſtayed chiefly for his head, which beſides thoſe vaſt ſummes of money, was given him to boot.

Peregrin.

Touching the Earle of *Strafford*, 'tis tru, he was full of ability, elocution and confidence, and underſtood the lawes of England as well as any, yet there were two things, I heard, wherein his wiſdom was queſtioned; firſt that having a charge ready againſt his chiefeſt accuſers, yet he ſuffered them to have the priority of ſute, which if he had got he had thereby made them parties, and ſo incapable to be produced againſt him: Secondly, that during the time of his tryall, he applyed not himſelf with that compliance to his *Jury* as well as to his *Judges*, for he was obſerved to comply only with the Lords, and not with the Houſe of Commons.

Patricius.

Patricius.

Howſoever, as ſome ſay, his death was reſolved upon, (*ſi non per viam juſtitiæ, ſaltem per viam expedientiæ*) which appears in regard the proceedings againſt him are by a clauſe in the Act *not to be produced for a leading caſe or example to future ages and inferiour Courts:* I bluſh to tell you how much the rabble of the City thirſted after his blood, how they were ſuffered to ſtrut up and down the ſtreets before the royal Court, and the Parliament it ſelf, with impunity; They cried out, that if the *Common* Law fail'd, *club* law ſhould knock him down, and their inſolency came to that height, that the names of thoſe Lords that would not doome him to death, ſhould be given them to fix upon poſts up and downe; And this was the firſt tumult that happened this Parliament, whereof ſo many followed after their example, being not onely conniv'd at, but backed by authoritie, for there were prohibitions ſent from the Parliament, to hinder all proceſſe againſt ſome of them.

Theſe *Myrmidons*, as they termed themſelves, were ready at a watchword, ſo that one might ſay there was a kind of diſcipline in diſorder.

Peregrin

Peregrin.

Were ther any troubled for delivering their votes in the Houses? I thought that freedom of opinion and speech, were one of the prime priviledges of that great Nationall Senat.

Patricius.

Yes, Those that were the *Minions* of the House before, became now the subjects of popular malice and detraction, (as the Lord *Digby* now Earl of *Bristol* for one) becauſe againſt the dictamen of their conſciences they would not vote the Earl of *Strafford* to death, and renounce their own judgments, and captivate it to the ſenſe of others, yet they ſtood firm to their firſt grounds, that he was a delinquent in a high nature, and incapable ever to beare office in any of His Majeſties dominions.

Peregrin.

I perceive Sir by your ſpeeches, that one of the chiefeſt cauſes of theſe combuſtions may be imputed to the Citie of *London*, which may be called the *Metropolis* of all theſe evils, and I little wonder at it, for it hath been alwaies incident to all great Townes, when they grow rich and populous, to fall into acts of inſolence, and to ſpurne at government; where ſo many pots,

(ſo

(ſo many braines I meane) are a boyling, ther muſt needs be a great deal of froth, but let her look to her ſelf, for Majeſty hath long arms, and may reach her at laſt. But the truth is, that *London* bears no proportion with the ſize of this Iſland, for either the one ſhold be larger, or the other leſſer: *London* may be well compared to the liver of a cramm'd Italian *gooſe*, whoſe fatning emacerates the reſt of the whole body, and makes it grow lean and languiſh, and ſhe may be well term'd a *gooſe* now more then ever, for her feathers are pluck'd apace; but now that you have done with the Earl of *Strafford*, what is become of all the reſt who were committed?

Patricius.

They are ſtill in durance, and have continued ſo theſe two years and upward, yet are not proceeded againſt, nor brought to their anſwer to this very day, though all the Courts of Juſtice have bin open ever ſince. Many hundreds more of the beſt ſort of Subjects have bin ſuddenly clapt up, and no cauſe at all mentioned in many of their commitments, and new Priſons made of purpoſe for them, where they may be ſaid to be buried alive, and ſo forgotten as if

ther were no ſuch men in the world (wherof the *Author* was one:) And how this can ſtand with *Magna Charta*, with the *Petition of Right* (to vindicat which, ther was ſo much pains taken the laſt Parliament) let any man of a ſane judgment determin. Yet one of the Judges, who hath an Impeachment of High Treaſon ſtill lying Dormant againſt him, though he be not *Rectus in Curia* himſelf, is ſuffered to ſit as Judge upon the higheſt tribunall of *England*, whereas *another* for a pretended miſdemeanour only is barr'd from ſitting ther. Others who were at firſt cryed up and branded to be the moſt infamous *Projectors* and *Monopolizers* of the land, (as *Hamilton*, *Holland*, &c.) are not only at liberty, but crept into favour, and made uſe of.

Peregrin.

Hath the houſe of Commons power to commit any but their own Members without conference with the Lords? Or hath any Order or Ordinance of one of the Houſes ſingly, or of both conjunctly, power to enjoin a virtual, binding, generall obedience without the *Royal conſent?*

Patricius.

The power of Parliament, when King, Peers,

Peers, and Commons, which is the whole Kingdom digeſted as it were into one volum, is indefinit, but what either of both Houſes can do of themſelves ſingly or joyntly without the King who is the life of the Law, eſpecially when a viſible faction reigns amongſt them, I will not determin.

——tantas componere lites
non opis eſt noſtræ——

But for my own opinion, I think it is as impoſſible for them to make a Law without the King, as it was for *Paracelſus* to make a human creture without *coition* of both ſexes. The reſults of Parliament without the Royall conſent, are as matches without fire; And it is an incontroulable principle, that the *old* Law muſt be our guide, till *new* be made, nor is any Act of the Subject juſtifiable, but what is warranted by the *old*. But to proceed in the tru diſcovery of theſe Domeſtick ſciſſures, my Lord of *Stafford* being gone, we hop'd fair weather wold follow. (He who was the cauſe of the tempeſt (as they pretended) being thrown over-board) but unluckie miſts of jealouſie grew thicker and thicker; Yet the *Scots* were diſmiſt, ha-

ving had Fidlers fare, meat, drink, and money, for eleven long moneths together. So His Majeſty went to *Scotland*, where the Parliament ther, did but *ask and have* any thing, though it be the unqueſtionable Prerogative of Majeſty to grant or deny Petitions, and to ſatisfie his *conſcience* before any *Councell* whatſoever.

But during his ſojourn ther, this formidable hideous Rebellion brok out in *Ireland*, which though it may be ſaid to be but an old play newly reviv'd, yet the Scene was never ſo Tragicall and bloody as now: for the Barbariſmes that have bin committed ther have bin ſo ſanguinary, and monſtrouſly ſavage, that I think poſterity will hold them hyperbolicall when Hiſtory relates them. The *Iriſh* themſelves affirm ther concurr'd divers cauſes to kindle this fire: One, was the taking off of *Straffords* head, (who awd them more then any Deputy ever did) and that one of his Accuſations ſhold be to have uſed the Papiſts ther too favourably: Secondly, the rigorous proceedings and intended courſes againſt the *Roman Catholiques* here in *England*. Laſtly, the ſtopping of that *Regiment* of *Iriſh*, who was promiſed by His Majeſties Royall Word and Let-

Letter to the King of *Spain*, who relying upon that employment, rather then to beg, ſteal, or ſtarve, turned Rebels: And that, which hath agravated the Rebellion all this while, and heightned much the ſpirit of the *Iriſh*, was the introduction of the *Scot*, whom they hate in perfection above all people els; And intended laſtly the deſign ſpoken of in our *Parliament*, to make an abſolute Conqueſt, and Nationall Eradication of them, which hath made them to make vertue of neceſſity, and to be valiant againſt their wills.

Peregrin.

Indeed I heard that Act of ſtaying the *Iriſh* Regiment, conſidering how the Marqueſſes *de Velada*, and *Malvezzi*, and *Don Alonſo de Cardenas*, who were all three Ambaſſadours here for the King of *Spain* at that time, having by reliance upon the ſacred Word and Letter of a King, impreſted money, and provided ſhipping for their tranſport, and bin at above 10000. Crowns charges, I ſay this Act was very much cenſured abroad, to the diſhonour of His Majeſty and our reproach.

Patricius.

I am very ſorry to hear it. Well Sir. His

Majeſty by His preſence having ſetled *Scotland*, was at his return to *London* received with much joy and exultation, but though he was brought in with a *Hoſanna* at one end of the Town, he found a *Crucifige* at the other: For at *weſtminſter* ther was a Remonſtrance fram'd, a work of many weeks, and voted in the dead of night, when moſt of the moderat and well-thoughted Members were retired to their reſt, wherein with as much aggravation and artifice as could be, the leaſt moat in Government was expoſed to publick view, from the firſt day of His Majeſties Inauguration to that very hour: Which Remonſtrance as it did no good to the Publick but fill peoples heads with doubts, their hearts with gall, and retard the procedure of all buſineſſe beſides, ſo you may well think it could expect but cold entertainment with His Majeſty, who hoped his great Councel, according to their often deep proteſtations, had done ſomething for his welcom home, that might have made him the beſt beloved King that ever was amongſt his people.

Peregrin.

'Tis tru, ther is no Government upon earth, made up of *men*, but is ſubject to cor-

corruption; there is no Court of judicature ſo cleane, but ſome cobwebs may gather in it, unleſſe an Act of Parliament could be made to free and exempt men from all infirmities and errour; It cannot be denied, but *Scotland* might have ſomething to complaine of (though I think leaſt of any) and ſo leapt firſt into the *pooll* to be cur'd, and what ſhe *fiſh'd* beſides in thoſe troubled *waters* 'tis too well known: *England* alſo no doubt might have ſome grievances, which his Majeſtie freely offered not onely to redreſſe for the preſent, but to free her of all feares for the future, from falling into relapſes of that kinde; but to redreſſe grievances by *Armes*, by plunging the whole countrey into an inteſtine warre, this makes the remedy worſe then the malady, it is as if one would go about to cure a ſick body by breaking his head, or let him blood by giving him a daſh on the noſe, it is as mad a tricke as his was who ſet the whole Houſe a fire to roaſt his egs. But truly Sir, in my opinion, his Majeſty at his return from Scotland, might have juſtly expected ſome acts of compliance and gratitude from his Parliament, conſidering what unparallel'd acts of grace he had paſs'd before.

Patricius.

Patricius.

His Majesty did not rest there, but complied further with them by condescending to an act for putting down the *star-chamber Court* the *high Commission*, the Court of *honour*, nay, he was contented his own *Privy Councell* should be regulated, and his forests bounded not according to ancient *Prerogative* but late custome; nay further, he pass'd a Bill for the unvoting, and utter exclusion of the *Spirituall* Lords from the Parliament for ever, whereby it cannot be denied, but by the casheering of 25 votes at a clap, and by excluding the *Recusant* Lords besides (who subsist most by his grace) he did not a little enervat his own prerogative. Adde hereunto that having placed two worthy Gentlemen *Biron* and *Lunsford* Lieutenants of the Tower, he remov'd them both one after the other, and was content to put in one of their *Election*: And lastly, he trusted them with his greatest strength of all, with his *Navie Royall*, and call'd home *Pennington* who had the guard of the narrow Seas so many yeares.

Peregrin.

Truly Sir, I never remember to have heard or read of such notable acts of grace and

nd confidence from any King: but would not all this ſuffice?

Patricius.

No, But they demanded all the Land Souldiery and military ſtrength of the Kingdome to be diſpoſed of by them, and to be put into what poſture, and in what Equipage, and under what Commanders they pleas'd; And this was the firſt thing his Majeſty ever denyed them, yet he would have granted them this alſo for a *limited* time, but that would not ſerve the turn; Hereupon his Majeſty grew a little ſenſible how they inch'd every day more and more upon his Royall Prerogatives; And intending to go to his Town of *Hull* to ſee his Magazin (which he had bought with his own money) with his ordinary train, he was in a hoſtile manner kept out, Canons mounted, Piſtols cockt, and leveld at him. But whether that unlucky *Knight (Hotham)* did this out of his *fidelity* to the Parl. or out of an apprehenſion of *feare* that ſome about the King, being mov'd with the barbarouſneſſe of the action would have piſtold him, I will not determine.

Peregrin.

I have read of divers affronts of this kinde

that

that were offerd to the *French* Kings, *Rochell* ſhut her gates more than once againſt *Henry* the Great, and for the King now regnant, they did not only ſhut him out of many of his Towns, but upon the gates of ſome of them they writ in legible Characters, *Roy ſan Foy, ville ſans peur*, a faithleſſe King, a fearleſſe Towne. Yet in the greateſt heat of thoſe warres, there was never any Towne refus'd to let in her King, provided he came attended onely with his *own traine*; and beſides other people abroad, I heard the *Scot's* nation did abhor that Act at *Hull*. But I pray Sir go on.

Patricius.

His Majeſty being thus *ſhut out* of one Towne, he might juſtly ſuſpect that an attempt might be made to *ſhut him in*, in ſome other; Therefore he made a motion to the *Yorke-ſhire* Gentlemen, to have a gard for the preſervation of his Perſon, which was done accordingly. But I am come to forward, I muſt go backe and tell you how the King was driven from *Weſtminſter*. When His Majeſty was return'd from *Scotland* he retir'd to *Hampton* Court, whence upon the Lord Majors and the Cities humble ſollicitation, he came back to *White-hal* to keep

his

his Christmas. But when the Bill against Bishops was in agitation, which businesse lasted neer upon ten weekes, a crue of bold sturdie mechanicks, and mariners, came from the *Citie* and ruffled before *White-hall* and *Westminster-hall*, and would have violated the Abby of *Westminster*, so that for many nights a Court of gard was forced to be kept in the body of that Church, (the chiefest *sanctuary* of the Kingdom.) Moreover, His Majesty having impeached some of the Members of both Houses, of High Treason, and being denied to have them delivered up, he went himself to the *Lower House* to demand them, assuring the *House they should have as faire and legall a triall as ever men had.* But as it pleas'd God, they were not there, but retir'd to *London* for refuge; The *Londoners* grew starke wilde thereupon, and notice being sent to all the adjacent Counties, this act of the Kings (though it wanted no precedents of former times) was aggravated in the highest degree that possibly could be. Hence you may easily inferre, what small securitie his Majesty had at *White-hall*, and what indignities he might have exposed himself unto, by that which had pass'd already from the Rabble, who had vilified and cried

cried *tush* at his proclamations, and disgorg'd other rebellious speeches with impunity: therefore he retird to *Hampton* Court (as we read, *our Saviour withdrew himselfe once from the multitude*) thence to *Windsor* Castle, whence accompanying her Majesty, with his eldest daughter to the sea side for *Holland*, and having commanded the Prince to attend him against his return at *Greenwich*, the Prince had been surpriz'd, and brought to *London*, had not the King come a little before. Thence he removed to *Yorke*, where he kept his Court all the Sommer.

But to returne to *London*, the very next day after their Majesties departure, the Countrey about, especially *Buckinghamshire* being incited by the Citie and Parliament, came in great swarmes, and joyning with the London mechanicks, they ruffled up and down the streets, and kept such a racket, making the fearfull'st riot that ever I beleeve was heard of in Parliament time: so those Members which formerly were fled into the Citie, were brought to the *House* in a kind of triumph, being garded by land and water in warlike manner by these Champions: After this, sundry troops of horse came from all the shires near adjoyning to

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he Parliament, and *Buckingham* men were he firſt, who while they expreſs'd their ove to (*Hamden*) their *Knight*, forgot their worn oath to their *King*, and in ſtead of feathers they carried a printed *Proteſtation* in heir hats, as the Londoners had done a little before upon the Pikes point.

Peregrin.

This kept a foul noiſe beyond Sea I remember, ſo that upon the *Rialto in Venice*, t was ſung up and down, that a *Midſummer* Moon (though it was then *midſt* of *Winter*) did raign amongſt the Engliſh, and you muſt think that it hath made the *Venetian* to ſhrink in his ſhoulders, and to look but illfavouredly upon us, ſince wee'l have none of his *currans*. But Sir, I heard much of that *Proteſtation*, I pray what was the ſubſtance of it?

Patricius.

It was penn'd, and enjoyn'd by the Parliament for every one to take, and it conſiſted of many parts; the firſt was, to maintain the tru Poteſtant Religion againſt all *Popiſh* innovations, which word *Popiſh* (as ſom think) was ſcrued in ot purpoſe for a loop hole to let in any other *innovation*: the ſecond was to *maintain the Prerogative and*

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Honour of the King; then the *power and privileges of Parliament*; and lastly, the *propriety and Liberty of the subject*; for three parts of this *Protestation*, the people up and down seem'd to have utterly forgotten them, and continue so still, as if their consciences had bin tied only to the *third*, viz. the *priviledge of Parliament*, and never was ther a poor people so besotted, never was reason and common sence so baffled in any part of the world.

And now will I go to attend His Majesty at *York*, where, as I told you before, being loth to part with his *Sword*, (though he had half parted with his *Scepter* before) by denying the Parliament an indefinite time to dispose of the *Militia*, (alleadging that as the *word*, so the *thing* was new.) He sends forth his Commissions of *Array*, according to the old Law of *England*, which declares it to be the *undoubted Right, and Royall Signorie of the King, to arm or disarm any subject*: The *Parliament* sends out clean countermands for executing the said *Militia*, so by this clashing 'twixt the Commission of *Array* and the *Militia*, the first flash of this odious unnaturall war may be said to break out. The pulse of the *Parliament* beats

yet

yet higher, they ſend an *Admirall* to the Sea (the Earl of *warwick*) not only *without*, but expreſly againſt the Kings ſpecial command. They had taken unto them a Military gard from the City for their protection, without His Majeſties conſent, who by the advice of the Lord *Keeper* and others, had offered them a very ſtrong gard of *Conſtables* and other Officers to attend them, which the Law uſually allows; yet the raiſing of that gard in *York-ſhire* for the ſafegard of His Majeſties perſon, was interpreted to be *leavying of war* againſt the Parliament, and ſo made a ſufficient ground for them to raiſe an *Army*, to appoint a *Generall* (the Earl of *Eſſex*) with whom they made publick Declarations to live and die. And they aſſumed power to confer a new *Appellation* of honour upon him, (Excellency) as if any could confer *Honour* but the King! And this Army was to be maintain'd out of the mixt contribution of all ſorts of people; ſo a great maſſe of money and plate was brought into the *Guild-hall*, the Semſtreſſe brought in her ſilver *Thimble*, the Chamber-maid her *Bodkin*, the Cook his *Spoons*, and the Vintner his *Bowles*, and every one ſomthing, to the advancement of ſo good a work,

work, as to wage war directly against the Sacred person of their *Soverain*, and put the whole Countrey into a combustion.

Peregrin.

Surely it is impossible that a rationall Christian people shold grow so simple and sottish, as to be so far transported, without some colourable cause, therfore I pray tell me what that might be?

Patricius.

The cause is made specious enough, and varnished over wonderfull cunningly; *The people are made to believe they are in danger, and a prevention of that danger is promised, and by these plausible ways the understanding is wrought upon, and an affection to the cause is usher'd in, by aggravation of this danger, as one wold draw a thred through a needles eye:* This huge Bugbear *Danger*, was like a monster of many heads, the two chiefest were these. *That ther was a plot to let in the Pope; And to cast the civil Government into a French frame*; It is incredible to think how the Pulpits up and down *London* did ring of this by brainsick Lecturers, of whom som were come from *New-England*, others were pick'd out of purpose, and sent for from their own flock in the Countrey, to possesse, or rather

rather to *poiſon* the hearts of the Londoners, to puzzle their intellectualls, and to intoxicat their brains by their *powerfull gifts*; It was puniſhable to preach of *Peace*, or of *Cæſars Right*, but the common ſubject of the pulpit was either blaſphemy againſt God, diſobedience againſt the King, or incitements to ſedition; Good Lord, what windy frothy ſtuff came from theſe fanatick brains; Theſe *Phrenetici Nebulones* (for King *James* gives them no better Character in his (Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον,) who may be ſaid to be mad out of too much ignorance, not knowledg; who nevertheleſſe are come to that height of prophaneſs and pride, that they preſume to father all their doctrines, all their nonſenſe, raptures and ravings upon the *holy Spirit*. Nor did the *Pulpit* only help to kindle this fire, but the *Preſſe* alſo did contribute much ſtubble; What baſe ſcurrilous Pamphlets were cryed up and down the ſtreets, and diſperſed in the Countrey? What palpable and horrid *lies* were daily printed? How they multiplied in every corner in ſuch plenty, that one might ſay ther was a *ſuperfætation* of lies, which continue unto this day? One while the King of *Denmark* was comming over from the

Sound: Another while the King of *France* had a huge Army about *Calais* design'd for *England:* Another while ther was an Army of *Irish* Rebels comming over with the privity of the King: Another while a plot was cryed up and down to burn *London:* Another while ther were subterranean invisible troups (at *Ragland* Castle) mustered under-ground in *Wales*, and thousands of Papists armed in *Lancashire*, and divers reports of this nature were daily blown up, and though the Authors of them were worthlesse and mean futilous persons, yet the reports themselves had that credit as to be entertain'd and canvas'd in the High Court of Parliament. But these false rumors produc'd one politick effect (and it was the end indeed for which they were dispers'd) they did intimidat and fill the peoples hearts with *fears*, and dispose of them to up-roars and so to part with money.

Peregrin.

I know ther be sundry sorts of *Fears*; ther are *Conscientious* Fears, and ther are *Pannick* Fears, ther are *Pusillanimous* Fears, and ther are *Politick* Fears. The first sort of *Fear* proceeds from guilt of Conscience, which turns often to *Phrensy*. The second sort

ſort of *Fear* may be call'd a kind of *Chymera*, 'tis ſom ſudden ſurprizall or *Conſternation* ariſing from an unknown cauſe. *Puſillanimous* Fear makes a mountain of a mole-hill, and proceeds from poverty of ſpirit, and want of courage, and is a paſſion of abject and degenerous minds, and may be call'd *Cowardiſe*, and this Fear is always accompanied with jealouſie. *Politick fear*, is a created forg'd Fear wrought in another, to bring ſom deſign about; And as we find the *Aſtronomers* (the compariſon is too good) do imagin ſuch and ſuch ſhapes and circles in the Heavens, as the *Zodiak*, *Equinoctiall*, *Colures*, *Zones* and *Topiques* with others, though ther be no ſuch things really in nature, to make their concluſions good. So the *Polititian* doth often deviſe and invent falſe imaginary Fears, to make his proceedings more plauſible amongſt the ſilly vulgar, and therby to compaſſe his ends: And as the Sun uſeth to appear far bigger to us in the morning then at noon, when he is exalted to his Meridian, and the reaſon the *Philoſophers* uſe to give, is the interpoſition of the vapours which are commonly in the lower Region, through which we look upon him (as we find a piece of ſil-

ver look bigger in a bucket of water then elſewhere) ſo the *Polititian* uſes to caſt ſtrange miſts of Fear, and fogs of jealouſie before the ſimple peoples eyes, to make the danger ſeem bigger: But truly Sir, this is one of the baſeſt kinds of policy, nor can I believe ther be any ſuch *Polititians* amongſt the *Cabaliſts* of your Parliament, who pretendto be ſo buſie about Gods work, a *Glorious Reformation*, for you know ther is a good Text for it, that *God needeth not the wicked man*, he abominats to be beholding to *liers* to bring about his purpoſes: But I pray Sir deal freely with me, do you imamagin ther was a deſign to bring in the *Maſſe* again?

Patricius.

The *Maſſe*? You may ſay ther was a plot to bring in *Mahomet* as ſoon, to bring in the *Alchoran*, or *Talmud* as ſoon; For I dare pawn my ſoul, the King is as Cordiall a *Proteſtant* as any that breathes under his three Crowns, which beſides his publick deep Proteſtations, and his conſtant quotidian exemplary open practiſe, many other convincing private reaſons induce me to believe, and it is in vain to think the *Pope* can take footing here to any purpoſe without

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the Kings leave. You know as well as I Sir, that of all the Reformed Churches in Christendom, the *Lutheran* retains most of the *Roman*, both in his positions and practise, and comes much nearer to him then we do, yet I have observed, that from the first day of his Reformation, to this, He is as averse, and as far off from *Rome*, as the rigidest *Calvinist* that is; And shall I think, because ther are som humble and hansom postures, and decent vestures *revived* in our Church (for they were never *abolished*;) because the Communion table stands in the East end where it ever stood since Christianity came in all our *Cathedralls*, which shold be a rule to all inferiour Churches, though the *Seperatist* cries it up most falsly to be an *Innovation*: because the *Queen* hath a few simple *Capuchins* (fewer then was allowed by the Matrimoniall Capitulations) whither to retire sometimes: Because Schismaticks were proceeded against with more care, and the Government of the Church born up ately with more countenance, shall I believe out of all this that the *Pope* must presently come in? shall I believe the weakness four Religion to be such, as to be so easily aken and overturn'd? Yet I believe ther

was a pernicious plot to introduce a *new* Religion, but what I pray? not *Popery*, but *Presbitry*, and with it to bring in the doctrine of *Buchanan* and *Knox* for civill government, and so to cast our Church and State into a *Scots* mould.

Peregrin.

Indeed I heard the *English* much derided abroad for resigning their intellectualls in point of *Religion* to the *Scots*, whom from Infidels they made Christians, and *Reformed* Christians first, and now for the *English* to run to them for a Religion, and that the *Uniformity* & reformation shold proceed from *them*, having disdain'd us formerly, what a disparagement is it thinke you to the *Anglican* Church? This with other odd traverses, as the eclipsing the glory of the King, and bringing him back to a kind of minoritie, the tampering with his conscience, I will not say the *straining* it so farre, the depriving him of all kind of propertie, the depressing of his Regall power, wherein the honour of a nation consists, and which the *English* were us'd to uphold more then any other, for no King hath more awful attributs from his subjects, *as Sacred Sovereigne, gracious and most Excellent Majestie*, nor any

King

King ſo often prayed for, for in your morning Liturgie he is *five* times prayed for, whereas other Princes are mentioned but once or twice at moſt in their's: I ſay that this, with interception of letters, ſome incivilities offered Ambaſſadors, and the bold laviſh ſpeeches that were ſpoken of the greateſt Queenes in Chriſtendome, and his Majeſties late withdrawing his Royall protection from ſome of his Merchant-Subjects in other countreys, hath made the *Engliſh* loſe much ground in point of eſteeme abroad, and to be the *diſcourſe*, I will not ſay the *ſcorne* of other people. They ſtick not to ſay, that there is now a worſe maladie fallen upon their *minds*, then fell upon their *bodies* about an age ſince by the *Sweating ſickneſſe*, which was peculiar onely unto them and found them out under all Climes. Others ſay, there is a pure λυκανθρωπία amongſt them, that theyare turn'd to Wolves (as you know it is a common thing in *Lapland*) & that the old Adage is verified in them, *Homo homini lupus*; Nay our next neighbours give out, that the ſaying was never truer then now, *Rex Anglorum, Rex Diabolorum.* Nor is it a ſmall diſrepute to the *Engliſh*, that the word *Cavalier*, which is an attribute

that no Prince in Christendome will disdain, and is the common Appellation of the Nobilitie and Gentrie in most parts of the world, is now us'd, not onely in Libels and frivolous Pamphlets, but in publicke Parliamentarie Declarations, for a *terme of reproach*. But truely Sir, what you have related touching the *Pulpit* and the *Presse*, transformes me into wonder, and I should want faith to beleeve it, did you not speak it upon your knowledge; but the *English* when they fall to worke upon a new humour, use to overdoe all people.

Patricius.

You have not yet the tithe of what I could give you, you would little think that Coachmen, and Feltmakers, and Weavers were permitted to preach up and down without controulment, and to vent their froth and venome against Church and State, to cry downe our *Hierarchy* and *Liturgie*, by most base and reviling speeches.

Peregrin.

Touching your *Lyturgie*, I have heard it censur'd abroad by the regidest *Calvinists* of *Geneva* and *Dort*, yet I never heard any other Character given of it, but that it is a most *Pious*, *Pathetick*, and perfect peece of devotion,

devotion, both for the matter and forme of it, which I have been a little curious to obſerve. It begins with ſome choiſe paſſages of holy Scripture, and a previous Declaration or Monitory to excite us to the worke in hand; The firſt addreſſe wee make to God is by an humble and joynt Confeſſion which is appliable to any conſcience, and comprehends in it all kind of ſins. Then followeth a pronuntiation of Gods promiſes and proneſſe to pardon and abſolve us; We goe on to the Lords Prayer, which having bin dictated by our Saviour himſelf we often uſe, and is as *Amber* throwne in amongſt our *Frankincenſe*, to make the Sacrifice more precious and pleaſing unto God; Then we proceed to ſom choice Pſalms, and other portions of holy ſcripture taken out of the old and new teſtament; Then we fall to the *Symbole of faith*, whereof we make a ſolemn joynt confeſſion in ſuch a poſture as ſhews a readineſſe and reſolution in us to defend it: and ſo to the *Letany*, wherein the poor penitent peccant ſoul may be ſaid to breath out herſelf into the boſome of her Saviour by tender ejaculations, by panting groans, & eviſcerated ingeminations, and there is no ſin, no temptation

tation whatsoever that humane frailty is subject unto, but you shall find a deliverance from it there, it is so full of Christian charity, that there is no condition of people, but are remembred and prayed for there. Then wee proceed by holy alternatif interlocutions (whereby wee heare our selves speak as well as the Minister) to some effectuall short prayers; because in long prayers the minde is subject to wander, as some Zelots now a dayes use to bring their Hearers into a *Wilderneſſe* by their *Prayers*, and into a *Labyrinth* by their *Sermons*. Then goe we on to the *Decalogue*, and if it be in a *Cathedrall*, there is time enough for the Hearer to examine himselfe, while the Musick playes, where and when he broke any of Gods holy Commandements, and ask particular forgiveneſſe accordingly in the intervall; Then after other choice portions of Scripture, and passages relating to our Redemption, and endearing unto us the merits of it, with a more particular Confession of our *Faith*, we are dismissed with a *Benediction*: So that this *Liturgy* may be call'd an Instrument of many strings, whereon the sighing soul sends up various notes unto heaven: It is a posie made up of divers flowers, to make

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it the more fragrant in the noſtrills of God. Now touching your *Biſhops*, I never knew yet any Proteſtant Church but could be content to have them, had they meanes to maintaine the *Dignitie*, which the Churches of *France* with others have not, in regerd the Reformation beg an firſt among the *people*, not at *Court*, as here it did in *Engl.* For unleſſe ther be ſom Supervifers of Gods houſe, endowed with eminent authority to check the fond fancies, and quench the falſe fatuous fires of every private ſpirit, and unleſſe it be ſuch an authority that may draw unto it a holy kind of awe and obedience what can be expected but confuſion and *Atheiſme*: You know what became of the Iſraelites when the wonted reverence to the *Ark*, and the *Ephod*, and the *Prieſt*, began to languiſh amongſt them: For the braine of man is like a garden, which unleſſe it be fenced about with a wall or hedge, is ſubject you know to be annoyed by all kinde of beaſts which will be ready to runne into it; ſo the braine unleſſe it be reſtrain'd and bounded in holy things by rules of Canonicall authoritie, a thouſand wild opinions, and extravagant fancies will hourely ruſh into it: nor was there ever any field ſo ſubject to produce

Cockle

Cockle and Darnell, as the human brain is rank and ready to bring forth tares of Schism and Heresie of a thousand sorts, unlesse after the first culture the sickle of Authority be applyed to grub up all such noisom weeds.

Patricius.

Yet this most antient dignity of *Bishops* is traduced and vilified by every shallow-pated petty Clerk, and not so much out of a tru zeal, as out of envy that they are not the like. And touching our *Liturgy*, whereof you have bin pleas'd to give so exact a Character, people are come to that height of impiety, that in som places it hath bin *drown'd*, in other places *burnt*, in som places *torn* in pieces to serve for the baseſt uses, nay it hath bin preached publickly in Pulpits, *That it is a piece forg'd in the devils shop*, and yet the impious foul-mouth'd *Babbler* never was so much as questioned for it. Nor did the Church only eccho with these blasphemies; but the *Presse* was as pregnant to produce every day som Monster either against Ecclesiasticall, or Secular Government. I am asham'd to tell you how som bold Pamphleters in a discourse of a sheet or two, wold presume to question, to dispute of, and de-

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termin the extent of Monarchik jurisdiction, what sturdy doubts, what sawcy *Quaeries* they put, what odd frivolous distinctions they fram'd, That the King though he was Gods *Anointed*, yet he was mans *appointed*: That he had the *commanding*, not the *disposing* power: That he was set to *rule over*, not to *over-rule* the people; That he was King by human *choice*, not by divine *Charter*; That he was not King by the *Grace of God*, so much as by the suffrage of the people; That he was a *Creature and production of the Parliament*: That he had no implicit trust, nor peculiar property in any thing; That *populus est potior Rege*; That *Grex lege, lex est Rege potentior*; That the King was *singulis major, universis minor*; (wheras a successive Monarch ——*Uno minor est Jove.*——Sometimes they wold bring instances from the States of *Holland*, sometimes from the Republick of *Venice*, and apply them so impertinently to absolute and independant Royalty; But I find that the discourse and inferences of these grand *Statists* were bottom'd upon four false foundations, *viz.* That the King of whom they speak must be either a *Minor*, and *Idiot*, an insufferable *Tyrant*, or that the

Kingdom they mean, is *Elective*; None of all which is appliable, either to our most gracious and excellently qualified King, or to his renowned Kingdom, which hath bin always reputed an ancient successive Monarchy, govern'd by one Suprem undeposeable and independent head, having the Dignity, the Royall State, and power of an Imperiall Crown, and being responsible to none but to God Almighty and his own *conscience* for his actions, and unto whom a Body Politick compacted of Prelates, Peers, and all degrees of people is naturally subject; but this is a theam of that transcendency, that it requires a serious and solid *Tractat*, rather then such a slender Discourse as this is to handle.

But I pray excuse me Sir, that I have stept aside thus from the road of my main narration; I told you before, how the clashing 'twixt the *Commission of Array*, and the *Militia*, put all things in *disarray* throughout the whole Kingdom; The Parliament as they had taken the first Military gard, so they began to arm first, and was it not high time then for His Majesty to do some thing think you? yet he essayed by all ways imaginable to prevent a war, and to conquer by a

passive

passive fortitude, by *cunctation*, and *longanimity*. How many overtures for an accommodation did he make? How many Proclamations of pardon? How many elaborat Declarations breathing nothing but clemency, sweetnes and truth did drop from his *own* imperious invincible pen, which will remain upon Record to all ages, as so many Monuments to his eternall glory? Yet som ill spirit stept still in, between his Grace, and the abused Subject, for by the peremptory Order of Parliament (O monstrous thing) the said Proclamations of Grace, and other His Majesties Declarations were prohibited to be read; fearing that the strength and truth of them wold have had a vertue to unblind, or rather unbewitcht (*for Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft*) the poor besotted people: What deep Protestations and holy Vowes did he reiterate that the main of his designs, was to preserve the tru Protestant Religion, the known Lawes of the Land, and the just priviledges of Parliament? How often did he dehort and woo the City of *London* (his *imperiall Chamber*) from such violent courses, so that she may be justly upbraided with the same words, as the *Prince of peace* upbraided *Jerusalem* withall: *London, London,*

How

How often wold I have gathered thee, as a hen doth her chickens under her wings, yet thou wouldst not?

How often did he descend to acknowledg the manner of demanding the *one* and five Members in his publick Remonstrances: and if ther was an errour in the proceedings, how oft did he desire his Great Councell to direct him in a course how to go on in the Empeachment: which they never did, but wold reserve the priviledge to themselves to be judge and party.

Peregrin.

Can your Parliament protect high Treason? I am sure the character of an Ambassadour cannot, which the late French Ambassadour (who for his time play'd his Cards more cunning than ever Count *Gondomar* did) knew well; and therefore, as I heard som French men say, he got Letters of Revocation before his designed time: but it seems strange to me, that the King who is the *Protectour of the Law*, and Fountain of Justice, cannot have the benefit of the Law himself, which the meanest of his vassals can claim by right of inheritance: 'Tis strange, I say, that the Law shold be a *dead* letter *to him* who is the *Life* of the Law,

Law, but that for omission of some punctillio in the form of the Processe, the charge of high Treason should be so slightly wav'd, specially Treason of so universall a concernment, that it may be call'd a complication of many Treasons; for if in every petty State it be High Treason to *treat* only with any Forrein Power without the privity of the *Prince*, it must needs be Treason of a higher nature *actually to bring them in*; And hereof I could alleadge you many pregnant instances, ancient and modern, but that I do not desire to interrupt you in your relation.

Patricius.

The Parliament, as I told you before, armed apace, it was not fitting then His Majesty should sit idle; therfore he summons those Nobles and others, who had an immediate relation unto him by Office or Service, to attend him at *York*, according to their particular obligation and oath: But it seems the Parliament assumed power to dispence with those oaths, and excuse their attendance, which dispensation prevail'd with som (*tender*) consciences; yet the *Great Seal* posted to Court, and after it most of the Nobles of the Land, with the flower

of the Gentry, and many of the prime Members of the Commons Houſe; ſo that were it not for the *locall* priviledge, the Parliament for number of Members, might be ſaid to be ever ſince about the King: Theſe Nobles and Gentlemen reſenting His Majeſties caſe, and what practices ther were on foot to alter the Government both of Church and State, not only adviſed His Majeſty to a royall war for defence of his Crown and Dignity, but contributed very chearfully, and have ſtood conſtant to the work ever ſince.

Peregrin.

They have good reaſon for it, for the ſecurity of the Nobility and Gentry depends upon the ſtrength of the Crown, otherwiſe *popular* Government wold ruſh in like a torrent upon them. But ſurely thoſe Nobles, and thoſe Parliament Gentlemen and others, ſom of whom I underſtand, were reputed the wiſeſt and beſt weigh'd men for experience and parts thorowout the whole Kingdom, and were cryed up in other Parliaments to be the moſt zealous Patriots for the propriety and freedom of the Subject, wold never have ſtuck ſo firmly to His Majeſty, had they not known the

bottom of his designs, that it was far from his thoughts to bring in the *Pope* or *French* Government; for therby they shold have betrayed their own posterity, and made their children slaves.

Patricius.

To my knowledge, these Nobles and Gentlemen are still the very same as they were in former Parliaments, wherin they were so cryed up for the truest lovers of their Country, and best Common-wealths-men; yet now they are branded, and voted to be *Seducers*, and Traytors, because according to their oaths and consciences, they adhere to the King their Master and Liege-Lord, for maintenance of that Religion they were baptized and bred in. Those most Orthodox and painfull Divines, which till this Parliament began were accounted the preciseſt sort of Protestants, are now cryed down for Papists, though they continue still the very same men, both for opinions and preaching, and are no more *Papists* than I am a *Pythagorean*. In fine, a tru English Protestant is put now in the same scale with a Papist, and made Synonyma's. And truly these unhappy Schismaticks could not devise how to cast a greater infamy upon the

Engliſh Proteſtant than they have done of late by theſe monſtrous imputations; they wold faſten upon him ſuch opinions which never entred into his thoughts, they wold know ones heart better than himſelf, and ſo would be greater *Kardiognoſticks* than God Almighty.

But to draw to a concluſion; The Parliaments Army multiplyed apace in *London*, the Kings but ſlowly in the North, ſo that when he diſplayed his Royal Standard at *Nottingham*, his Forces were not any thing conſiderable, ſo that if the Parliaments *Generall* (*Eſſex*) had then advanced towards him from *Northampton*, he had put him to a very great ſtrait; they encreaſed ſomthing at *Derby*, and *Stafford*, but when he was come to *Shrewsbury*, the Welch-men came running down the mountains in ſuch multitudes, that their example did much animate the Engliſh; ſo that his army in leſſe than a month that the Court continued in *Shrewſbury*, came to near upon twenty thouſand Horſe and Foot; not long before, the *Nephew Princes* came over, and the firſt encounter Prince *Rupert* had with the Parliaments Forces was at *Worceſter*, where he defeated the flower of their Cavalry, and gave them

them a ſmart blow. At *Shrewsbury* His Majeſty took a reſolution to march with His whole Army towards *London*, but after ſeven days march he underſtood the Parliaments Forces were within ſix miles ſide-long of him, and ſo many miles he went out of His road to find them out, and face them: Upon Sunday morning he was himſelf betimes upon Edge-Hill, wher the Enemies Colours plainly appear'd in vale before *Keinton*; it was paſt two in the after-noon before all his Infantery could get to the bottom, who upon ſight of the Enemies Colours ran as merrily down the Hill, as if they had gone to a Morris dance. So His Majeſty himſelf being *Generaliſſimo*, gave command the great Ordnance ſhold flye for a defiance, ſo the battell began, which laſted above three hours, and as ſome French and Dutch Commanders (who were engag'd in the Fight) told me, they never remembred to have ſeen a more furious battail for the time in all the German wars. Prince *Rupert* purſued the Enemies Horſe like a whirl-wind near upon three miles, and had ther bin day enough, when he came back to the Infanterie, in all probability a totall defeat had bin given them: So that the ſame accident

may be ſaid to fall out here, as happened in that famous battell at *Lewis*, in *Henry* the thirds time, where the Prince of Wales (afterwards *Edward* the firſt) was ſo eager, and went ſo far (by exceſſe of courage) from the body of the Army in purſuance of the *Londoners*, that it was the fatall cauſe of the loſſe of that mighty battail. His Majeſty (to his deſerved and never-dying glory) comported himſelf like another *Cæſar* all the while, by riding about and encouraging the Souldiers, by expoſing his perſon often to the reach of a Musket-bullet, and lying in the field all that bleak night in his Coach. Notwithſtanding that many lying Pamphlets were purpoſely printed here, to make the world believe that he had retir'd himſelf all the time of the fight; what partiall reports were made in the Guild Hall to the Londoners, and by what perſons, (*W.* and *Strode*) I am aſhamed to tell you: But that His Majeſty was victorious that day (a day which I never thought to have ſeen in England) ther be many convincing arguments to prove it; for beſides the great odds of men which fell on their ſide, and Cannons they loſt, ſom of their Ordnance were nayl'd by the Kings Troops the next morning after

in

in the very face of their Army. Moreover, the King advanc'd forward the next day to his former road, and took *Banbury* presently after; but the *Parliamenteers* went backwards, and so from that day to this, His Majesty continueth Master of the field. 'Tis tru, that in som places, as at *Farnham*, *Winchester*, and *Chichester*, they have prevail'd since, but no considerable part of the Royall Army was ther to make opposition; and I blush to tell you, how unworthily the Law of Armes was violated in all those places.

Peregrin.

Good Lord, how can the souls of those men that were in the Parliaments Army at *Keinton* Battell, dispense with the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegeance, besides the *Protestation* you speak of, they had taken to preserve the *Person*, Honour, and Prerogative of the King, when they thus actually bandy against his *Person*, and appear in battel with all the engines of hostility against him?

Patricius.

I wold be loth to exchange consciences with them, and prevaricate so palpably with God Almighty; Touching the *Cavaliers*,

they may be ſaid to comply with their duties both towards *God* and their *King* according to the Oaths you mention; Moreover, ther was a ſtrong *Act of Parliament* (for their ſecurity) which was never as much as queſtioned or controverted, much leſſe ſuſpended or repeal'd: But always ſtood, and yet ſtands in as full validity and force, as it was the firſt day it was Enacted, and as much binding to an univerſall obedience, which Act runs thus:

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13. Oct-

13. *Octobris Anno undecimo* Henrici *Septimi, Anno Dom.* 1496

IT is Ordained, Enacted, and Eſtabliſhed by the King Our Soverain Lord, by the Advice and Aſſent of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, That from henceforth no manner of perſon or perſons whatſoever he or they be, that attend upon the King and Soverain Lord of this Land for the time being in his perſon, and do him tru and faithfull ſervice of Allegiance in the ſame, or be he in other places by his Comman-

mandment, in his wars within this Land or without: That for the ſaid Deed, and tru duty of Allegiance, he or they be in no wiſe Convict or attaint of High Treaſon, nor of other offences for that cauſe, by Act of Parliament or otherwiſe by any proceſſe of Law, whereby he or any of them, ſhall loſe or forfeit Life, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Poſſeſſions, Hereditaments, Goods, Chattels, or any other things: But to be for that Deed and Service utterly diſcharged of any Vexation, Trouble or loſs. And if any Act or Acts, or other proceſſe of the Law hereafter, therupon for the ſame happen to be made contrary to this Ordinance, That then that Act or Acts, or other proceſſe of the Law, whatſoever they ſhall be, ſtand and utterly void. Provided alwayes that no perſon or perſons ſhall take any benefit

nefit or advantage by this Act, which ſhall hereafter decline their ſaid Allegiance.

Peregrin.

This is as plain and fair as can be for ſecuring both the *Perſon* and *Conſcience* of the *Cavalier*, but was ther ever any Act or Oath, or any thing like an Oath that oblig'd Engliſhmen to be tru unto, or fight for the *Parliament*?

Patricius.

Never any, but theſe men by a new kind of *Metaphyſicks* have found out a way to abſtract the *Perſon* of the King from his *Office*, to make his Soveraigntie a kind of *Platonick Idea* hovering in the aire, while they viſibly attempt to aſſaile and deſtroy his *Perſon* and *Progeny*, by ſmall and great ſhot, and ſeek him out amongſt his life-Gard with fire and ſword; yet they give out, they fight not only not *againſt* him, but for him, and that *their* army is more loyall unto him than his owne; who, they ſay, fight only for the name *King*, though they have his perſon *really* amongſt them, commanding and direct-

directing : Thus they make *Him* a ſtrange kind of *Amphibium*, they make in one inſtant a King and no King of the ſame *Individuum*; a power which the *Caſuiſts* affirme God Almighty never aſſumed to himſelf, *to doe any thing that implies a contradiction.*

Peregrin.

Noble Sir, you make my heart to pant within me, by the Pathetick relation you have been pleas'd to make mee of theſe ruthfull times; But one thing ſeems to me to be no leſſe then a miracle, how his Majeſtie hath beene able to ſubſiſt all this while, conſidering the infinite advantages the averſe partie hath had of him; for they have all the tenable places and townes of ſtrength, both by land and ſea; They have the *Navie royall*, they have all the Amunition and Armes of the Crown, they have all the Impoſts and Cuſtoms, Poundage and Tonnage (which they levie contrary to their former Proteſtation before the Bill be paſs'd) They have the Exchequer at their devotion, and all the Revenue of the King, Queen, and Prince, and laſtly, they have the citie of *London*, which may be eall'd a Magazin of money and men, where there is a ready ſupplie and ſuperfluitie of all things, that may ſeed, clothe, or make

make men gay to put them in heart and resolution: Truely considering all these advantages, with divers others on their side, and the disadvantages on the Kings, it turnes me into a lump of astonishment, how his Majestie could beare up all this while, and keep together so many Armies, and be still master of the Field.

Patricius.

I confesse Sir, it is a just subject for wonderment, and we must ascribe it principally to God Almightie, who is the Protectour of his Anointed, for his hand hath manifestly appear'd in the conduct of his affaires; Hee hath been the Pilot, who hath sate at the helme ever since this storme began, and will we hope continue to steer his course till he waft him to safe harbour againe; Adde hereunto, that his Majesty for his own part, hath beene wonderfully stirring, and indefatigable both for his body and minde; And what notable things HER Majesty hath *done*, and what she hath *suffered*, is fitter for Chronicle, then such a simple *Discourse*.

Hereunto may be added besides, that his Majestie hath three parts of foure of the Peeres, and Prime Gentrie of the Kingdom firme unto him, and they will venture hard before

before they will come under a *popular* government and *mechanicall* corporations, or let in *Knox* or *Calvin* to undermine this Church, and bring in their bawdy stool of Repentance.

Peregrin.

Truely Sir, amongst other Countreys, I extreamly long'd to see *England*, and I am no sooner come, but I am surfeited of her already, I doubt the old Prophecie touching this Island is come now to be verified, That the *Churchman* was, the *Lawyer* is, and the *Souldier* shall be. I am afraid the *English* have seene their best dayes; for I find a generall kind of *infatuation*, a totall Eclipse of reason amongst most of them; and commonly *a generall infatuation precedes the perdition of a people*; like a fish, that putrifieth first in the head; Therefore I will trusse up my baggage and over again, after I have enjoyed you some dayes, and received your commands.

Patricius.

Dear Sir, If you seriously resolve to crosse the Seas againe so soon, I may chance beare you company, for as you have since the short time of your sojourn here judiciously observed a national defection of reason in the people

ple of this *Iſland*, which makes her ſo active in drawing on her own ruine; ſo by longer experience, and by infallible Symptomes I find a ſtrange kind of *Vertigo* to have ſeized upon her, which I feare will turne to the falling ſickneſſe, or ſuch a frenzie that will make her to daſh out her own braines: Nor are her miſeries, I feare, come yet to the full; It is the method of the Almightie, when he pleaſes to puniſh a people, to begin with *roddes*, to goe on with *ſcourges*, and if they will not do, he hath *Scorpions* for them: Therefore, I will breath any where ſooner then here, for what ſecuritie or contentment can one receive in that Countrey, where *Religion* and *Iuſtice*, the two grand *Dorique* Columnes which ſupport every *State*, are fallen down? which makes all conditions of men, all profeſſions and trades to go here daylie to utter ruine. The *Churchman* grows every day more deſpicable, as if he had no propertie in any thing, nor is there any way left him to recover his Tithe, but by coſtly troubleſome ſutes. The *Civilian*, a brave learned profeſſion, hath already made his laſt Will; And the *Common* Lawyers caſe is little better; The *Courtier* cannot get his Penſion; The *Gentleman* cannot recover his

rents

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rents, but either they are sequestred by a high hand of *unexampled* power, or else the poor tenant is so heavily assess'd or plundred, that he is disabled to pay them in; All kind of *Comerce* both domestick and forrein visibly decayes, and falls more and more, into the hands of strangers (to the no small dishonour of the wisedome of this Nation) nor can the *Tradesman* recover his debts, Parliamentary Protections continue still in such numbers, so that it is a greater priviledge now to be a footman to the meanest of the Lower House, then to be of the Kings Bed chamber: *Prentises* run away from their masters, and against their fathers intent turn souldiers, and for money, which is the soul of trade, I believe since the beginning of this Parliament, above one half of the treasure of the Kingdome is either conveyed to'ther side of the Sea, or buried under ground, whence it must be new digg'd up againe. Moreover, all things are here grown *Arbitrary* (yea that word took off the Earle of *Strafford* head) *Religion*, *Law*, and *Allegiance* is growne *Arbitrary*; nor dares the *Judge* upon the Tribunall (according to his oath) do justice, but he is over-awed by *Ordinance*, or els the least

leaſt intimation of the ſenſe of the lower Houſe is ſufficient to enjoyne him the contrary, ſo that now, more then ever, it may be ſaid here, —— *Terras Aſtræa reliquit.* —*peace* alſo hath rov'd up and downe this Iſland, and cannot get a place to lay her head on; ſhe hoped to have had entertainment in *York-ſhire* by the agreement of the beſt Gentlemen in the Countrey; but an Ordinance of Parliament beat her out of doores; Then ſhe thought to reſt in *Cheſhire*, and by a ſolemne Covenant ſhe was promis'd to be preſerv'd ther, the principal Agents of that Covenant having proteſted every one upon the word of a Gentleman, and as they did deſire to proſper, both themſelves, their tenants and friends,, ſhold ſtrictly obſerve it; but the like *Ordinance* of Parliament battered down that *Agreement*.

Then ſhe thought to take footing in the Weſt, and firſt in *Dorcetſhire*, then in *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, and by the holy tie of the bleſſed Sacrament ſhe was promiſed to be preſerved ther; but another Ordinance of Parliament is purſuing her, to diſpenſe with the Commiſſioners of the ſaid Agreement for their Oaths. Laſtly, His Majeſty is mainly endeavouring to bring her in again

thorowout the whole Land; but the furious, phrentique Schismaticks will have none of her; for as one of them (besides a thousand instances more) preach'd in one of the most populous Congregations about the City, *It were better that London streets ran with bloud, and that dead carkasses were piled up as high as the battlements of Pauls, than peace should be now brought in.* And now that *Peace* is shut out, *Learning* is upon point of despair, her Colledges are become Courts of Gard, and *Mars* lieth in *Mercuries* bed. *Honour* also, with *her Court*, lieth in the dust; the *Cobler* may confront the *Knight*, the *Boor* the *Baron*, and ther is no judicial way of satisfaction; which makes *Monarchy* fear she hath no long time of abode here. *Publick Faith* also, though she had but newly set up for her self, is suddenly become Bankrupt, and how could she choose? for more of the Kingdoms treasure hath bin spent within these thirty moneths, than was spent in four-score yeares before; but she hopes to piece up her self again, by the ruines of the Church; but let her take heed of that, for those goods have bin fatall to many thousand families in this Kingdom: yet, she thinks much, that those publick summs

which

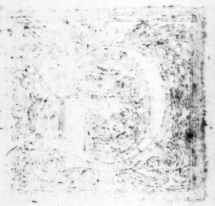
which were given to ſuppreſſe one rebellion (in *Ireland*) ſhold be employed to maintain another rebellion (in *England*.) And laſtly, methinks, I ſee *Religion* in torn ragged weeds, and with ſlubber'd eyes ſitting upon *weeping-Croſſe*, and wringing her hands, to ſee her chiefeſt Temple (*Pauls Church*) where God Almighty was us'd to be ſerv'd conſtantly thrice a day, and was the Rendezvouz, and as it were the Mother Church, ſtanding open to receive all commers and ſtrangers, to be now ſhut up, and made only a thorow-fare for Porters; to ſee thoſe ſcaffolds, the expence of ſo many thouſand pounds, to lie rotting; to ſee her chiefeſt lights like to be extinguiſhed; to ſee her famous learned Divines dragg'd to priſon, and utterly depriv'd of the benefit of the Common Law, their inheritance: Methinks, I ſay, I ſee *Religion* packing up, and preparing to leave this Iſland quite, crying out, that this is Countrey fitter for *Atheiſts* than *Chriſtians* to live in; for God Almighty is here made the greateſt *Malignant*, in regard his Houſe is plunder'd more than any: Ther is no Court left to reform hereſie, no Court to puniſh any Church Officer, and to make him attend his Cure, not Court to puniſh

Fornication, Adultery, or Inceſt: Methinks I hear *Her* cry out againſt theſe her Grand *Reformers* (or *Refiners* rather) that they have put diviſion 'twixt all degrees of perſons. They have put diviſion 'twixt husband and wife, 'twixt mother and child: The ſon ſeeks his fathers bloud in open field, one brother ſeeks to cut the others throat; they have put diviſion 'twixt maſter and ſervant, 'twixt *Land-Lord* and *Tenant*; nay, they have a long time put a ſea of ſeparation 'twixt King and Queen; and they labour more and more to put diviſion 'twixt the Head and the Members, 'twixt His Majeſty and his politicall *Spouſe*, his *Kingdom*: And laſtly, they have plung'd one of the flouriſhingſt Kingdoms of *Europe* in a war without end; for though a *Peace* may be plaiſter'd over for the time, I fear it will be but like a fire cover'd with aſhes, which will break out again, as long as theſe fiery Schiſmaticks have any ſtrength in this Iſland; ſo that all the premiſſes conſidered, if *Turk* or *Tartar*, or all the infernal ſpirits and *Cacodæmons* of hel had broken in amongſt us, they could not have done poor *England* more miſchief. Sir, I pray you excuſe this homely imperfect relation, I have a thouſand things more to impart

impart unto you when we may breathe freer air, for here we are come to that ſlavery, that one is in danger to have his very thoughts plundered; Therfore if you pleaſe to accept of my company, I will over with you by Gods help, ſo ſoon as it may ſtand with your conveniency, but you muſt not diſcover me to be an *Engliſhman*, abroad: for ſo I may be jeer'd at and kickt in the ſtreets; I will go under another name, and am fix'd in this reſolution, never to breathe *Engliſh* aire again, untill the *King* recovers his Crown, and the People the right uſe of their *Pericraniums*.

THE SECOND PART OF A DISCOURSE 'TWIXT PATRICIUS AND PEREGRIN, TOUCHING The DISTEMPERS OF THE TIMES.

LONDON,
Printed in the Year, 1661.



A DISCOURS, or PARLY,

Continued betwixt

Patricius and *Peregrin*,

Upon their landing in *France*, touching the civil Wars of *England* and *Ireland*.

Peregrin.

GEntle Sir, you are happily arrived on this ſhore; we are now upon firm ground, upon the fair *Continent* of *France*; we are not circumſcrib'd, or coopt up within the narrow bounds of a rhumatick *Iſland*; we have all *Europe* before us. Truly I am not a little glad to have ſhaken hands with that tumbling Element the *Sea*; And for *England*, I never intend to ſee her again in the mind I am in, unleſſe it be in a *Map*; nay, *In ſtatu quo nunc*, while this *Faction* reigns, had I

left one eye behind me, I ſhould hardly returne thither to fetch it; therefore if I be miſſing at any time, never look for me there. There is an old Proverb, *From a blacke German, a white Italian, a red Frenchman,* I may adde one member more, and, *from a Round-headed Engliſhman, The Lord deliver us.*

I have often Croſſed theſe Seas, and I found my ſelf alwaies pitifully ſick, I did ever and anon tell what *Wood* the Ship was made of; but in this paſſage I did not feele the leaſt motion or diſtemper in my humors: for, indeed I had no time to taink on ſickneſſe, I was ſo wholly tsken up, and tranſported with ſuch a pleaſing conceit, to have left yonder miſerable *Iſland.*

Peregrin.

Miſerable *Iſland* indeed; for I thinke there was never ſuch a tyrannie exerciſed in any Chriſtian Countrey under Heaven; a tyrannie that extends not onely to the *body*, but to the *braine* alſo; not only to mens fortunes and eſtates, but it reaches to their very ſoules and conſciences, by violented new coercive Oaths and Proteſtations, compos'd by Lay-men, inconſiſtent with the liberty of Chriſtians. Never was there a Nation carried away by ſuch a ſtrong ſpirit of

of deluſion ; never was there a poor people ſo purblinded and *Puppified*, if I may ſay ſo, as I finde them to be ; ſo that I am at a ſtand with my ſelfe, whether I ſhall *pitie* them more, or *laugh* at them. They not onely kiſſe the ſtone that hurts them, but the hands of them that hurle it ; they are come to that paſſive ſtupidity, that they adore their very perſecutors, who from *polling* fall now a *ſhaving* them, and will *flay* them at laſt if they continue this popular reigne. I cannot compare *England*, as the caſe ſtands with her, more properly, then to a poor beaſt, ſicke of the ſtaggers, who cannot be cur'd without an inciſion. The Aſtronomers, I remember, affirme that the *Moone* (which predominates over all humid bodies) hath a more powerfull influence o're your *Britiſh* Seas then any other ; ſo that according to the obſervation of ſome *Nevigators*, they ſwell at a ſpring tide in ſome places, above threeſcore cubits high : I am of opinion, that that inconſtant humorous *Planet*, hath alſo an extraordinany dominion over the *braines* of the Inhabitants ; for when they attempt any Innovation (whereunto all *Inſulary* people are more ſubject then other Citizens of the world which are fixed

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upon the *Continent*) they ſwell higher, their fancies worke ſtronglier, and ſo commit ſtranger extravagancies then any other: witneſſe theſe monſtrous barbariſmes and violencies, which have bin, and are daily offered to *Religion* and *juſtice*, (the two grand ſupporters of all States) yea, to humane *Reaſon* it ſelf ſince the beginning of theſe tumults.

And now, noble Sir, give me leave to render you my humble thanks for that true and ſolid information you pleaſed to give me in *London* of theſe commotions.

During my ſhort ſojourne there, I lighted on divers odde Pamphlets upon the *Seamſtreſſes* ſtalls, whom I wondred to ſee ſelling *Paper* ſheets in lieu of *Holland*: on the one ſide I found the moſt impudent untruths (vouch'd by publike authority) the baſeſt ſcurrilities, and pooreſt jingles of wit that ever I read in my life; on the other ſide I met with many pieces that had good ſtuff in them, but gave mee not (being a ſtranger) a full ſatisfaction, they look'd no further then the beginning of this Parliament, and the particular emergences thereof: but *you* have, by your methodicall relation, ſo perfectly inſtructed and rectified my underſtanding, by bringing me to the very

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ſource of theſe diſtempers, and led me all along the ſide of the *current* by ſo ſtreight a line, that I believe, whoſoever will venture upon the moſt intricate task of penning the ſtory of theſe vertiginous times, will finde himſelf not a little beholden to that Relation, which indeed may be term'd a ſhort *Chronicle* rather then a *Relation*. Wee are come now under another clime, and here we may mingle words, and vent our conceptions more ſecurely; it being, as matters ſtand in your Countrey, more ſafe to ſpeake under the *Lilly* then the *Roſe*; wee may here take in and put out freer ayre; I meane, we may diſcourſe with more liberty: for, *words are nought els but aire articulated, and coagulated as it were into letters and ſyllables.*

Patricius.

Sir, I deſerve not theſe high expreſſions of your favourable cenſure touching that poor piece; but this I will be bold to ſay, That whoſoever doth read it impartially, will diſcover in the Author the *Genius* of an honeſt Patriot, and a Gentleman. And now methinks I look on yon unfortunate Iſland, as if one look upon a Ship toſs'd up and down in diſtreſſe of wind and weather, by a furious tempeſt, which the more ſhe

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tugs and wraſtles with the foamie waves of the angry Ocean, the more the fury of the ſtorme encreaſeth, and puts her in danger of ſhipwrack; and you muſt needs thinke, Sir, it would move compaſſion in any heart, to behold a poore Ship in ſuch a deſperate caſe, ſpecially when all his *kindred*, *friends* and *fortunes*; yea his *Religion*, the moſt precious Treaſure of all, are aboard of her, and upon point of ſinking. Alas I can contribute nothing now to my poor countrey but my prayers and teares, that it would pleaſe God to allay this tempeſt, and caſt over board thoſe that are the true cauſers of it, and bring the people to the right uſe of *Reaſon* againe. It was well obſerved by you, Sir, That there is a Nationall kinde of indiſpoſition, and obliquity of mind that rageth now amongſt our people, and I feare it will be long ere they returne to their old *Engliſh* temper, to that rare loyalty and love which they were uſed to ſhew to their Soveraigne: for all the Principles of Monarchie are quite loſt amongſt us, thoſe ancient and ſacret flowers of the *Engliſh* Diadem are trampled under foot; nay, matters are come to that horrid confuſion, that not onely the *Prerogative* of the crown, but the foundamentall

mentall *Priviledge* of the free-born ſubject is utterly overthrowne, by thoſe whoſe Predeceſſors were uſed to be the main ſupporters of it: ſo that our King is neceſſitated to put himſelf in Armes for the preſervation not only of his own Regall rights, but of *Magna Charta* it ſelf, which was neuer ſo invaded and violated in any age, by ſuch cauſleſſe tyrannicall impriſonments, by ſuch unexampled deſtructive taxes, by ſtopping the ordinary proceſſes in Law, and awing all the Courts of Juſtice, by unheard-of forced oaths and Aſſociations, and a thouſand other acts, which neither *Preſident, Book-caſe* or *Statute* can warrant, whereof, if the King had done but the twentieth part, he had been cryed up to be the greateſt Tyrant that ever was.

Peregrin.

Sir, I am an *Alien*, and ſo can ſpeak with more freedom of your Countrey. The ſhort time that I did eate my bread there, I felt the pulſe of the people with as much judgement as I could; and I find, that this very word *Parliament* is become a kind of *Idoll* amongſt them, they doe, as it were, pin their ſalvation upon't; it is held blaſphemie to ſpeake againſt it. The old *Engliſh* Maxime

Maxime was, *The King can do no wrong*; another Nominative case is now stept in, *That the Parliament can do no wrong*, nor the *King receive any*: And whereas ther was used to be but one Defender of the *Faith*, ther are now started up amongst you, I cannot tell how many hundreds of them. And as in the sacred profession of *Priest-hood* we hold, or at least-wise should hold, That after the *Imposition* of hands, the Minister is inspired with the Holy Ghost in an extraordinary manner for the enabling of him to exercise that Divine Function, so the *English* are grown to such a fond conceit of their *Parliament* Members, that as soon as any is chosen by the confus'd cry of the Common people to sit within the walls of that House, an inerring spirit, a spirit of infallibility presently entereth into him (so that he is therby become like the *Pope*, a *Canon animatus*) though som of them may haply be such flat and simple animals, that they are as fit to be Counsellours, as *Caligula's* Horse was to be *Consull*, as the Historian tells us.

Patricius.

Touching *Parliament*, ther breaths not a Subject under *Englands* Crown, who hath a

a higher esteem of it then I, it makes that dainty mixture in our Government of *Monarchy*, *Optimatie* and *Democracy*, betwixt whom, though ther be a kind of *co-ordination* of power during the sitting of *Parliament*, yet the two last, which are composed of Peers and People, have no power, but what is derived from the *first*, which may be called the soul that animates them, and by whose authority they meet, consult and depart: They come there to *propose*, not to *impose* Lawes; they come not to make Lawes by the sword; they must not be like *Draco's* Lawes, written in bloud. Their *King* calls them thither to be his *Counsellors*, not *Controllers*; and the Office of Counsell is to *advise*, not to *inforce*; they come thither to *intreat*, not to *treat* with their Liege Lord; they come to throw their *Petitions* at his feet, that so they may find a way up to his heart.

'Tis tru, I have read of high things that our *Parliament* have done, but 'twas either during the nonage and minority of our Kings, when they were under protectorship; or when they were absent in a forrain war, or in time of confusion, when ther were competitors of the bloud-royall for the Crown,

and when the number of both Houſes was compleat and individed; but I never read of any *Parliament* that did arrogate to it ſelf ſuch a power *Paramount*, ſuch a *Superlative ſuperintendence*, as to check the Prerogative of their Soverain, to queſtion his *negative* voice, to paſſe things, not only without, but expreſly againſt his advice and royall command: I never heard of *Parliament*, that wold have their King, being come to the *Meridian* of his age, to tranſmit his intellectualls, and whole faculty of reaſon to them. I find ſom *Parliaments* have bin ſo modeſt and moderat (*Now moderation is the Rudder that ſhold ſteer the courſe of all great Councells*) that they have declined the agitation and cognizance of ſom ſtate affaires, humbly transferring them to their Soverain and his privy Counſell: a *Parliament man* then, held it to be the *adæquat* object of his duty, to ſtudy the welfare, to redreſſe the grievances, and ſupply the defects of that particular place for which he ſerved; The *Members then* us'd to move in their own (*Inferior*) ſphere, and us'd not to be tranſported by any *Eccentric* motions. And ſo they thought to have complyed with the *Obligation*, and diſcharged the conſciences of honeſt

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Patriots, without ſoaring above their reach, and roving at random to treat of univerſals, much leſſe to bring Religion to their bar, or prie into the *Arcana Imperii*, the cognizance of the one belonging to the King, and his intern Counſell of State: the other to *Divines*, who, according to the *Etymologie* of the *word*, uſe to be ſtill converſant in the exerciſe of ſpeculation of holy and heavenly things.

Peregrin.

I am clearly of your opinion in theſe two particulars; for, *ſecrecy being the ſoul of policy*, matters of State ſhold be communicated but to few; and touching Religion, I cannot ſee how it may *quadrat* with the calling, and be *homogeneous* to the profeſſion of Lay-men, to determine matters of Divinity; who, out of their incapacity and unaptneſſe to the work, being not *pares negotio*, and being carryed away by a wild kind of *Conſcience* without *Science*, like a Ship without a Helm, fall upon dangerous quick-ſands; ſo that whileſt they labour to mend her, they marr her, whilſt they think to ſettle her, they confound her, whilſt they plot to prevent the growth of *Popery*, they pave the way to bring it in, by conniving at, and countenancing thoſe monſtrous Schiſmes

which I obſerved to have crept into your Church ſince the *reign* of this *Parliament*: ſo that one may juſtly ſay, Theſe your *Reformers* are but the executioners of the old project of the Jeſuits, the main part whereof was, and is ſtill, to hurle the ball of diſcord, and hatch new opinions ſtill 'twixt the *Proteſtants*, to make factions and ſciſſures between them, and ſo render their religion more deſpicable and ridiculous.

But methinks, matters are come to a ſtrange paſs with you in *England*, that the *Judges* cannot be truſted with the *Law*, nor the *Prelats* with the *Goſpell*; whereas from all times, out of their long experience and years, theſe two degrees of men were uſed to be reverenced for the chief *Touch-men*, and unqueſtionable *Expoſitors* of both, which another power ſeems now to arrogate to it ſelf, as the inerring *Oracle* of both: but I pray God that theſe grand *Refiners* of Religion, prove not *Quack-ſalvers* at laſt; that theſe upſtart *Polititians* prove not *Impoſtors*: for I have heard of ſome things they have done, that if *Machiavell* himſelf were alive, he wold be reputed a Saint in compariſon of them. The *Roman* ten, and *Athenian* thirty, were Babies to theſe; nay,

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the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, and the *Bloet-Rade* (that Councell of bloud) which the Duke of *Alva* erected in *Flanders*, when he ſwore, *That he wold drown the Hollanders in their Butter-tubs*, was nothing to this; when I conſider the prodigious power they have aſſumed to themſelves, and do daily exerciſe over the bodies, the eſtates and ſouls of men.

In your former Diſcourſe you told me, that amongſt multitudes of other miſchiefs, wh ch this new Faction hath wrought, they have put *diviſion* 'twixt all ſorts and ſexes, 'twixt all conditions, both of men and women; one thing more I may ſay, they have done in this kind: for, they have laboured to put *diviſion* between the *Perſons* of the holy *Trinity*, by making the firſt *Perſon* to be offended at that voluntary *genuflection* and reverence which hath bin from all times practiſed in the Chriſtian Church to the name of the ſecond *Perſon*; ſo that *Jeſu-worſhip*, as I have read in ſome of your profane Pamphlets, is grown now to be a word of reproach amongſt you.

But to the point; ther is one thing I can never ceaſe to wonder at: that whereas at the beginning of this *Parliament*, ther were

as able and experienced, as stout and well spoken Gentlemen, as any in the whole Kingdom, that sate in the House, and made the far major part, I wonder I say, that they wold suffer this giddy-headed Faction to carry all before them in that violent manner, that they did not crush this *Cocatrice* in the shell.

Patricius.

First, Sir, you know ther is nothing so agreeable to the nature of man, as *novelty*; and in the conduct of humane affaires, it is always seen, that when any new design or faction is a foot, the Projectors are commonly more pragmaticall and sedulous upon the work; they lie centinell to watch all advantages, the Sand of their brains is always running: This hath caused this upstart Faction, to stick still close together, and continue marvellously constant to their ends; they have bin used to tyre and out-fast, to weary and out-watch the moderate and well-minded Gentlemen; sometimes till after midnight, by clancular and nocturnall sittings; so that as His Majesty saies in one of his Declarations, most of their Votes may be said to be nought elfe, but *Verdicts of a starv'd Jury.*

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Another reaſon is, That they countenanced the flocking together of the promiſcuous rabble from *London*, notwithſtanding the two ſeverall motions the Lords made unto them, that they might be ſuppreſſed by Parliamentary Order: This riotous crue awed the wonted freedom of ſpeech in both Houſes, cryed up the names, and confronted many of their Members: yet theſe new Polititians not only conniv'd at them, but call'd them their *friends*; and ſo they might well enough, or rather their *Champions*; for they had ordered the matter ſo, that they were ſure to have them ready at their devotion, at the heaving of a finger: and from this tumultuous *mongrell crue*, they derived their firſt encouragements to do ſuch high prodigious inſolencies they have committed ſince. Adde hereunto, that they complyed exceedingly beſides with the Common Councell of the City, they uſed to attend them early and late to knock heads together; and if any new thing was to paſſe in the Houſe, they wold firſt wait on *them*, to know their pleaſure, and afterwards it ſhold be propounded and put to *Vote* in the Houſe: And how derogatory it is to the high *Law-making-councell*, to make their

chiefeſt Members wait from time to time on the Magiſtrates of *the City*, who in former times were uſed to attend them upon all occaſions in *Weſtminſter*, I am aſhamed to think on; nor am I leſſe aſhamed to remember thoſe baſe *Artifices* and indirect courſes that were practis'd at the election of this pretended *Major*; here they tack'd about to a ſecond choice; after the firſt was legally made, and how the *Common-Councell* was pack'd up of the arrandeſt *Schiſmaticks* up and down the *City*. And to that mutinous wealth-ſwoln City, and the ſaid unbridled pack of *Oppidans* (ſeconded afterwards by the Countrey clownes) who offered ſuch outrages to *Gods Houſe*, the *Kings houſe*, and the *Parliament houſe*, may be aſcribed all miſeries, and the miſcarriage of things: for they cauſed His Majeſty to forſake his own ſtanding palace, to abſent himſelf from his *Parliament*, and make that unpleaſing progreſſe up and down his Kingdom ever ſince, which put all Counſells at a ſtand, and to be involv'd in a confuſion.

Peregrin.

But let me tell you that your *Britannick Sun*, though he be now o're-ſet with theſe unlucky clouds, engendred of the vapours of

of distempered brains, and the *rotten* hearts of many of his own *meniall* servants, who have proved like the Sons of *Serviah* unto him, ingratefull monsters, yet is he still in his own *Orb*, and will, when this foul weather's passed, and the aire cleared a little by *thunder*, shine more gloriously and powerfully then before, it being a *maxime* of State, That *Rebellion suppressed, makes a Prince the stronger*; Now *Rebellion* durst never yet look a Prince long in the face, for the Majesty of Gods anointed, useth to dart such fulgent piercing beams, that dazle the eyes of disloyalty, and strikes her stark blind at last. And truly, as you say, I am also clearly of opinion, that these ingratefull *Londoners*, as they were the *comencers*, so have they been the continuers and *contrivers* of this ugly *Rebellion* ever since; They seem to have utterly forgotten who hath given them the sword, and by, and from whom they hold their *Charter*; Their *Corporations* are now grown body politicks, & so as many petty *Republikes* amongst them, so that they begin to smell rank of a *Hanstown*. Poor simple *Annimals*, how they suffer their pockets to be pick'd, their purses to be cut; how they part with their *vitall spirits* every week; how desperately they

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poſt on to *poverty*, and their own *ruine*, ſuffering themſelves in lieu of *Scarlet-gownes*, to be governed by a rude company of *Red-coats*, who 'twixt *plundering*, *aſſeſſements*, and *viſits*, will quickly make an end of them. I fear ther is ſom formidable judgment of regall revenge hangs over that City; for the anger of a King is like the roaring of a Lyon; and I never read yet of any City that conteſted with her Soverain, but ſhe ſmarted ſoundly for it at laſt. The preſent caſe of *London* bears a great deal of proportion with that of *Monpellier* here in *France*, in *Charls* the ſeventh's time; for when that town had refuſed the publiſhing of many of the Kings *Edicts* and *Declarations*, murthered ſom of his Miniſters and Servants, abuſed the Church, and committed other high acts of inſolency; the Duke of *Berry* was ſent to reduce the Town to obedience; the Duke preſſed them with ſo hard a ſiege, that at laſt the beſt Citizens came forth in proceſſion, bare-headed, & bare-footed, with white wands in their hands, and halters about their necks to deliver the keys of all the gates to the Duke, but this wold not ſerve the turn, for two hundred of them were condemned to the gallies, two hundred of them were hang'd,

hang'd, and two hundred beheaded, the King saying, he offered those as *victimes* for the lives of his servants whom they had murthered with the false sword of Justice.

But, Sir, I much marvell how your Church-government, which from all times hath been cryed up to be so exact, is so suddenly tumbled into this confusion: how your Prelates are fallen under so darke a cloud, considering that divers of them were renowned through all the Reform'd Churches in *Christendome* for their rare learning and pietie? At the *Synod* at *Dort*, you know some of them assisted, and no exception at all taken at their degree and dignity, but took precedence accordingly, how came it to passe, that they are now fallen under this Eclypse, as so be so persecuted, to be push'd out of the House of Peers, and hurried into prison? I pray you be pleased to tell me.

Patricius.

Sir, I remember to have read in the *Irish* Story, That when the Earl of *Kildare* in *Henry* the eighth's time, was brought before the Lord *Deputy* for burning *Cassiles* Church, he answered, *My Lord, I would never have burnt the Church, unlesse I had thought the Bishop had been in it*; for 'twas not the Church, but the

Bishop

Biſhop I aim'd at. One may ſay ſo of the *Anglican* Church at this preſent, that theſe fiery *Zelots*, theſe vaporing *Scioliſts* of the times are ſo furiouſly enraged againſt this holy *Primative* order; ſome out of *Envie*, ſome out of *Malice*, ſome out of *Ignorance*, that one may ſay, our Church had not been thus ſet on fire, unleſſe the Biſhops had been in't. I grant there was never yet any Profeſſion made up of men, but there were ſome bad; we are not Angels upon earth there was a *Iudas* amongſt the firſt dozen of *Chriſtians*, though Apoſtles, and they by our *Saviours* owne election: Amongſt our Prelates peradventure (for I know of no accuſation fram'd againſt them yet) ſome might be faulty, and wanting moderation, being not contented to walk upon the battlements of the Church, but they muſt put themſelves upon ſtilts; but if a golden chaine hath happily a copper link two or three, will you therefore breake and throw away the whole chaine. If a few *Shoomakers* (I confeſſe the compariſon is too homely, but I had it of a *Scots* man) ſell Calfes skin for Neats leather, muſt the *Gentle-Craft* be utterly extinguiſh'd, muſt we go bare foot therefore? Let the perſons ſuffer in the Name of God, and not the holy Order of *Epiſcopacy* But

But good Lord, how pittifully were those poor Prelats handled? what a Tartarian kind of tyranny it was, to drag twice into prison twelve grave reverend Bishops, *causâ adhuc inaudita*, and afterwards not to be able to frame as much as an accusation of *misdemeanor* against them, much lesse of *Treason*, whereof they were first impeach'd with such high clamors: But I conceive it was of purpose, to set them out of the way, that the new *Faction* might passe things better amongst the *Peers*. And it seemes they brought their work about; for whilest they were thus *recluſed* and absent, they may be sayed to be thrust out of doores, and *ejected out* of their owne proper ancient inheritance, And the *Tower* wherein they were cast might be called *Limbo patrum* all the while.

Peregrin.

But would not all this, with those unparallell'd *Bills* of Grace you mentioned in your first *Discourse*, which had formerly passed, suffice to beget a good understanding, and make them *confide* in their King?

Patricius.

No, but the passing of these *Bills* of *grace*, were term'd *Acts* of *Duty* in his Majesty; they went so far in their demands that 'twas

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not sufficient for him to give up his *Tower*, his *Fleet-Royall*, his *Magazines*, his *Ports*, *Castles* and *Servants*, but he must deliver up his *sword* into their hands, all the Souldiery & *Military* forces of the Land; nay, he must give up his very *Understanding* unto them; he must resigne his own *Reason*, and with an *implicit Faith* or *blind Obedience*, he must believe all they did *was to make him glorious*; and if at any time he admonished them, or prescribed wayes for them to proceed and expedit matters, or if he advised them in any thing, they took it in a kind of indignation, and 'twas presently cryed up to be *Breach of Priviledge*.

Peregrin.

Breach of Priviledge forsooth, There is no way in my conceit, to make a King more inglorious, both at home and abroad, then to disarme him; and to take from him the command and disposing of the *Militia* throughout his Kingdome, is directly to disarm him, & wrest the *Sword* out of his hand: and how then can he be termed *A Defendor?* how can he defend either himself, or others? 'tis the onely way to expose him to scorn and derision; truly, as I conceive, that demand of the *Militia* was a thing not only

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unfit for *them* to *ask*, but for *him* to *grant*. But, Sir, what ſhold be the reſon which mov'd them to make that inſolent propoſall?

Patricius.

They cry'd out that the Kingdom was upon point of being ruin'd; that it was in the very jawes of deſtruction; that there were forreign and in-land plots againſt it: all which are prov'd long ſince to be nothing elſe but meere *Chymera's*; yet people for the moſt part continue ſtill ſo groſſely beſotted, that they cannot perceive to this day, that theſe forg'd feares, theſe *Utopian* plots, thoſe publick *Idea's* were fram'd of purpoſe, that they might take all the martiall power into their hands; that ſo they might without controulment caſt the government of Church and ſtate into what mold they pleaſed, and ingroſſe the chiefeſt offices to themſelves: And from theſe imaginary inviſible dangers proceeded theſe viſible calamities, and grinding palpable preſſures which hath accompanied this odious Warre ever ſince.

Peregrin.

Herein methinks, your *ſtatiſts* have ſhewne themſelves *politique* enough, but not

not so prudent & honest; for *Prudence & Policy*, though they often agree in the *end*, yet they differ in election of the *meanes* to compasse their ends: The one serves himself of truth, strength of Reason, integrity, and gallantnesse in their proceedings; the other of fictions, fraudulence, lies, and other sinister meanes; the work of the one is lasting and permanent, the others worke moulders away, and ends in infamy at last; for *fraud* and *froſt* alwaies end *foule*. But how did they requite that most rare and high unexampled trust his Majesty reposed in them, when he before passed that fatall Act of *continuance*, a greater trust then ever *English* King put in Parliament? How did they performe their solemn promise and deepe Protestations, to make him the most *glorious* (at home and abroad) the *richeſt* and *beſt belovedſt* King that ever raigned in that *Iſland*.

Patricius.

Herein I must confesse, they held very ill correspondence with him, for the more he trusted them, the more diffident they grew of *him*; and truly, Sir, herein white differs not so much from black, as their actions have been disconsonant to their words: Touching the

the first promise, to make him *glorious*; if to suffer a neighbouring *Nation* (the *Scot*) to demand and obtain what they pleased of him; if to break capitulations of peace with a great forrein *Prince* (the French King) by the *renvoy* of the *Capuchins*, and divers other Acts; if to bring the dregs and riff-raffe of the City to domineere before his Court-gate, notwithstanding his Proclamations of repressing them; if to confront him and seek his life by fire and sword in open field, by open defiance, and putting him upon a defensive war; if to vote his Queen a *Traytresse*, to shoot at her, to way-lay her, to destroy her, if to hinder the reading of his Proclamations, and the sleighting of his Declarations (enclosed in Letters sign'd and seal'd with his own hand) for fear they shold bring the people to their wits again; if to call them *fetters of gold*, *divellish devises*, *fraught with doctrines of division*, *reall mistakes*, *absurd suppositions*, though ther never dropt from *Princes* pen, more full, more rationall and strong *sinewy* expressions; if to suffer every shallow-brain'd *Scolist* to *preach*, every *Pamphletter* to *print*, every rotten-hearted man or woman to *prate* what they please of him and his Queen,

if to sleight his often acknowledgment, condiſſentions, retractions, pronunciations of Peace, and proffers of Pardon; if to endeavour to bring him to a kind of ſervile ſubmiſſion; if to bar him of the attendance of his *Domeſtiques*, to abuſe and impriſon his meſſengers, to hang his ſervants for obeying his Commiſſion; if to prefer the ſafety and repute of five ordinary men, before the honour of their King, and being actually *impeach'd* of Treaſon, to bring them in a kind of triumph to his Houſe; if for ſubjects to *Article*, *Treat* and *Capitulate* with him; if to tamper with his *Conſcience*, and make him forget the ſolemn ſacramentall oath he took at his *Coronation*; if to deveſt him of all regall rights, to take from him the election of his ſervants and officers, and bring him back to a kind of minority; if this be to make a King *glorious*, our King is made glorious enough.

Touching the ſecond promiſe to make him the richeſt King that ever was; if to denude him of his native rights, to declare that he hath no property in any thing but by way of truſt, not ſo much property as an *Elective* King; if to take away his cuſtoms of inheritance; if to take from him his Exche-

chequer and Mint; if to thruſt him out of his own Towns, to ſuffer a lowſie Citizen to lie in his beds within his Royall Caſtle of *Windſor*, when he himſelf would have come thither to lodg; if to enforce him to a *defenſive* war, and cauſe him to engage his Jewells and Plate, and ſo plunge him in a bottomleſſe gulph of debt for his neceſſary defence; if to anticipate his revenue royall, and reduce him to ſuch exigents that he hath ſcarce the ſubſiſtence of an ordinary Gentleman; if this be to make a *rich* King, then is our King made ſufficiently rich.

Concerning their third promiſe, to make him the *beſt beloved* King that ever was; if to caſt all the aſperſions that poſſibly could be deviſed upon his Government by publique elaborat remonſtrances; if to ſuffer and give Texts to the ſtrongeſt lung'd *Pulpiteers* to poyſon the hearts of his ſubjects, to intoxicat their brains with fumes of forg'd jealouſies, to poſſeſſe them with an opinion, that he is a Papiſt in his heart, and conſequently hath a deſign to introduce Popery; if to ſleight his words, his promiſes, his Aſſeverations, *Oaths* and *Proteſtations*, when he calls heaven and earth to witneſſe, when he deſires no bleſſing otherwiſe to fall upon himſelf, his

wife and children, with other pathetick deep-fetcht expreſſions, that wold have made the meaneſt of thoſe millions of Chriſtians which are his vaſſals, to be believed; if to protect Delinquents, and proclaim'd *Traytors* againſt him; if to *ſuſcitate*, *authoriſe*, and *encourage* all ſorts of ſubjects to heave up their hands againſt him, and levy armes to *emancepate* themſelves from that naturall allegiance, loyalty, and ſubjection, wherein, they and their fore-fathers were ever tyed to his Royall Progenitors; if to make them ſwear and damn themſelves into a rebellion; if this be to make a King *beloved*, then this *Parliament* hath made King *Charles* the beſt *beloved* King that ever was in *England*.

Peregrin.

I cannot compare this Rebellion in *England*, more properly then to that in this Kingdom, in King *John's* time, which in our *French Chronicle* beares to this day the infamous name of *Jaquerie de Beauvoiſin*; The *Peaſans* then out of a ſurfeit of plenty, had grown up to that height of inſolency, that they confronted the *Nobleſſe* and *Gentry*, they gathered in multitudes, and put themſelves in armes to ſuppreſſe, or rather extinguiſh them;

them; and this popular tumult never ceaſed, till *Charles le Sage* debell'd it; and it made the Kings of *France* more puiſſant ever ſince, for it much increaſed their *Finances*, in regard that thoſe extraordinary taxes which the people impoſed upon themſelves for the ſupport of the war, hath continued ever ſince a firm revenue to the Crown; which makes me think of a facecious ſpeech of the late *Henry* the Great, to them of *Orleans*: for wheras a new impoſition was laid upon the Townſmen during the *league* by *Monſieur de la Chaſtre*, who was a great ſtickler in thoſe wars; they petitioned *Henry* the fourth, that he wold be pleaſed to take off that taxe, the King asked them, Who had laid that taxe upon them? they ſaid *Monſieur de la Chaſtre*, during the time of the *League*, the King replyed, *Puis que Monſieur de la Chatre vous à liguè qu'il vous deſtigue*, ſince *Monſieur de la Chaſtre* hath leagu'd you, let *Monſieur de la Chaſtre* unleague you, and ſo the ſaid taxe continueth to this day.

I have obſerved in your Chronicles that it hath bin the fate of your Engliſh Kings to be baffled often by petty companions; as *Jack Straw*, *Wat Tyler*, *Cade*, *warbecke* and *Symnel*. A *waſpe* may ſomtimes do a ſhrewd

turn to the *Eagle*, as you ſaid before; your *Iſland* hath bin fruitfull for Rebellions, for I think ther hapned near upon a *hundred* ſince the laſt Conqueſt, the City of *London*, as I remember, in your Story hath rebelled ſeven times at leaſt, and forfeited her Charter I know not how often, but ſhe bled ſoundly for it at laſt, and commonly, the better your *Princes* were, the worſe your *people* have been; As the caſe ſtands, I ſee no way for the King to eſtabliſh a ſetled peace, but by making a fifth *Conqueſt* of you; and for *London*, ther muſt be a way found to prick that tympany of pride wherwith ſhe ſwells ſo much.

Patricius.

'Tis true, ther has bin from time to time many odd Inſurrections in *England*, but our King gathered a greater ſtrength out of them afterwards, the *inconſtant people are alwayes acceſſary to their own miſeries*: Kings Prerogatives are like the Ocean, which as the Civilians tell us, if he loſe in one place, he gets ground in another. Cares and Croſſes ride behind Kings, Clowds hang over them. They may be eclypſed a while, but they will ſhine afterwards with a ſtronger luſtre. Our gracious Soverain hath paſſed a kind of

Or-

Ordeal, a fiery triall; he while now hath bin *matriculated* and ſerv'd part of an Apprentiſhip in the School of Affliction; I hope God will pleaſe ſhortly to cancell the Indenture, and reſtore him to a ſweeter liberty then ever. This Diſcourſe was ſtopp'd in the Preſs by the tyranny of the Times, and not ſuffer'd to ſee open light till now.

A

SOBER and SEASONABLE *MEMORANDUM*

SENT TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

PHILIP late Earl of *Pembrock*, and *Montgomery*, &c.

To mind Him of the particular Sacred Ties (beſides the Common Oath of Alleageance and Supremacy) wereby he was bound to adhere to the King his Liege Lord and Maſter.

Preſented unto Him in the hotteſt brunt of the late Civill Wars.

Juramentum ligamen Conſcientiæ maximum.

LONDON,
Printed in the Year, 1661.

To the Right Honourable, PHILIP Earl of *Pembrock*, and *Montgomery*, Knight of the Bath; Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter; Gentleman of His Majesties Bedchamber, And one of His most Honorable privy Counsell, &c.

My Lord,

THis Letter requires no *Apology*, much leſſe any *pardon*, but may expect rather a good reception and thanks, when your Lordſhip hath ſeriouſly peruſed the contents, and ruminated well upon the matter it treats of by weighing it in your ſecond and third thoughts which uſually carry with them a greater advantage of wiſdom: It concerns not your body, or temporall eſtate, but things reflecting upon the nobleſt part of you, your *ſoul*, which being a beam of Immortality, and a Type of the Almighty, is incomparably more precious, and rendereth all other earthly things to be but bables and tranſitory trifles. Now, the ſtrongeſt tye, the ſolemneſt engagement and ſtipulation that can be betwixt the ſoul and her Creator, is an *Oath*. I do not underſtand common tumultuary raſh oaths, proceeding from an ill habit, or heat of paſſion upon ſud-

ſudden contingencies, for ſuch oaths bind one to nought elſe but to repentance: No, I mean ſerious and legall oaths, taken with a calm prepared ſpirit, either for the aſſerting of truth, and conviction of falſhood, or for fidelitie in the execution of ſome Office or binding to civill obedience and Loyaltie, which is one of the eſſentiall parts of a Chriſtian; Such publick oaths legally made with the Royall aſſent of the Soveraigne from whom they receive both legalitie and life (elſe they are invalid and unwarrantable) as they are religious acts in their own nature, ſo is the taking and obſervance of them part of Gods honor, and there can be nothing more derogatory to the high Majeſty and holineſſe of his name, nothing more dangerous, deſtructive and damnable to humane ſouls then the infringment and eluding of them, or omiſſion in the performance of them. Which makes the *Turks*, of whom Chriſtians in this particular may learn a tender peece of humanity, to be ſo cautious, that they ſeldom or never adminiſter an oath to Greek, Jew, or any other Nation, and the reaſon is, that if the Party ſworn doth take that Oath upon hopes of ſome advantage, or for evading of danger and

puniſh-

punishment, and afterwards rescinds it, they think themselves to be involved in the Perjury, and so accessary to his damnation: Our Civill Law hath a Canon consonant to this, which is, *Mortale peccatum est ei præstare juramentum, quem scio verisimiliter violaturum*; *'Tis a mortall sin to administer an Oath to him who I probably know will break it*; To this may allude another wholesome saying, *A false Oath is damnable, a true Oath dangerous, none at all the safest.* How much then have they to answer for, who of late yeares have fram'd such formidable coercive generall Oaths to serve them for engins of State to lay battery to the Consciences and Soules of poor men, and those without the assent of their Soveraign, and oppositt point blank to former Oaths they themselves had taken: these kind of Oaths the City of London hath swallowed lately in grosse, and the Country in detaile, which makes me confidently beleeve that if ever that saying of the holy Prophet, *The Land mournes for Oaths*, was appliable to any part of the habitable earth, it may be now applied to this reprobate Iland.

But now I come to the maine of my purpose, and to those Oaths your Lordship hath taken before this distracted time, which the world

world knowes, and your conſcience can teſtifie, were divers; They were all of them ſolemn, and ſome of them Sacramentall Oaths (and indeed, every *Solemn* Oath *among the Antients was held a Sacrament:*) They all implyed, and impoſed an indiſpenſible fidelity, Truth and loyalty from you to your Soveraign Prince, your Liege Lord and Maſter the King: I will make ſome inſtances: Your Lordſhip took an Oath when Knight of the Bath *to love your Soveraign above all earthly Creatures, and for His Right and dignity to live and die &c.*

By the Oath of Supremacy you ſwear *to beare faith and true allegeance to the Kings Highneſſe, and to your power to defend all Iurisdictions, Priviledges, Preheminences and Authorities belonging to his Highneſſe &c.*

Your Lordſhip took an Oath when Privie Counſellor, *to be a true and faithfull Servant unto Him, and if you knew or underſtood of any manner of thing to be attempted, done, or* ſpoken *againſt His Majeſties* Perſon, *Honour, Crown, or Dignity, you ſwore to let, and withſtand the ſame to the uttermoſt of your power, and either cauſe it to be revealed to himſelf, or to others of His Privy Counſell*; The Oaths

you

you took when Bedchamber man, and L. Chamberlain bind you as ſtrictly to His *Perſon.*

Your Lordſhip may alſo call to memorie when you were inſtalled Knight of the Garter, (whereof you are now the oldeſt living except K. of *Denmark*) you ſolemnly ſwore *to defend the Honour and Quarrels, the Rights and Lordſhip of your Soveraigne:* Now the Record tells us that the chiefeſt ground of inſtituting the ſaid order by that heroick Prince *Edward* the Third was, that he might have choice gallant men, who by Oath and Honour ſhould adhere unto him in all dangers, and difficulties, and that by way of reciprocation Hee ſhould protect and defend them, Which made *Alfonſo* Duke of *Calabria* ſo much importune *Henry* the Eight to inſtall him one of the Knights of the Garter, that he might engage King *Harry* to protect him againſt *Charles* the Eighth, who threatned then the conqueſt of *Naples.*

How your Lordſhip hath acquitted your ſelf of the performance of theſe Oaths, your conſcience (that boſome record) can make the beſt affidavit; Some of them oblige you *to live and dye* with King *Charles*, but what

Oaths

Oaths or any thing like an Oath binds you to live and die with the *House of Commons*, as your Lordship often gives out you will, I am yet to learne: Unlesse that House which hath not power as much as to administer an Oath (much lesse to make one) can *absolve* you from your former Oaths, or haply by their omnipotence *dispence* with you for the observance of them. Touching the *Politicall* capacitie of the King, I feare *that* will be a weak plea for your Lordship before the Tribunall of heaven, and they who whisper such Chimeras into your ears, abuse you in grosse; but put case there were such a thing as *politicall* capacitie distinct from the *personal*, which to a true rationall man is one of the grosseſt Buls that can be, yet these forementioned Oaths relate most of them meerly unto the Kings *Person*, the individuall Person of King *Charles*, as you are His Domestick Counsellor, and cubicular Servant.

My Lord, I take leave to tell your Lordship (and the Spectator sees sometimes more then the Gamester) that the world extreamely marvels at *you* more then others, and it makes those who wish you best to be transformed to wonder, that your Lordship

should

ſhold be the firſt of your Race who deſer-ted the *Crown*, which one of your Progeni-tors ſaid, he would ſtill follow though it were thrown upon an hedg: Had your Princely Brother (*William* Earl of *Pembrock*) bin living he wold have bin ſooner torn by wild horſes than have banded againſt it, or abandoned the King his Maſter, and fallen to ſuch groſſe Idolatry as to worſhip the *Beaſt with many heads*. The world alſo ſtands aſtoniſhed that you ſhold confederate to bring into the bowels of the Land, and make Elogiums in ſome of your Speeches of that hungry people which have bin from all times ſo croſſe and fatall to the Engliſh Nation, and particularly to your own ho-nour: Many thouſands do wonder that your Lordſhip ſhold be brought to perſecute with ſo much animoſity and hatred that reverend Order in Gods Church (Epiſcopacy) which is contemporary with Chriſtianity it ſelf, and wherunto you had once deſigned, and devoted one of your deareſt Sons ſo ſo-lemnly.

My Lord, if this Monſter of Reformati-on (which is like an infernall Spirit clad in white, and hath a cloven head as well as feet) prevailes, you ſhall find the ſame de-

ſtiny will attend poor *England*, as did *Bohemia* which was one of the flouriſhingſt Kingdoms upon that part of the earth, which happen'd thus: The Common people ther repind at the Hierarchy and riches of the Church, therupon a Parliament was pack'd where Biſhops were aboliſhed, what followed? The Nobles and Gentry went down next, and afterwards the Crown it ſelf, and ſo it became a popular confus'd Anarchicall State, and a Stage of bloud a long time, ſo that at laſt, when this Magot had done working in the brains of the fooliſh peeple, they were glad to have recourſe to Monarchy again after a world of calamities; though it degenerated from a ſucceſſive Kingdom to an Elective. Methinks, my Lord, under favour that thoſe notorious viſible judgements which have fallen upon theſe Refiners of reform'd *Religion* ſhold unbeguile your Lordſhip, and open your eyes: For the hand of heaven never appeared ſo clearly in any humane actions: Your Lordſhip may well remember what became of the *Hothams*, and Sir *Alexander Cary*, who were the two fatall wretches that began the War firſt, one in the *North*, the other in the *South*, *Plymouth* and *Hull*. Your Lordſhip may

may be alſo pleaſed to remember what became of *Brooks* the Lord, and *Hampden*, the firſt whereof was diſpatched by a deaf and dumb man out of an ancient Church (at *Litchfield*) which he was battering, and that ſuddenly alſo, for he fell down ſtone dead in the twinkling of an eye; Now, one of the greateſt cavils he had againſt our Liturgy was a clauſe of a Prayer ther againſt ſudden death; Beſides, the fag end of his Grace in that journey was, that if the deſign was not pleaſing to God, he might periſh in the action: For the other (*Hampden*) he beſprinkled with his bloud, and received his death upon the ſame clod of earth in *Buckingham-ſhire* where he had firſt aſſembled the poor Country people like ſo many Geeſe to drive them gaggling in a mutiny to *London* with the Proteſtation in their Caps, which hath bin ſince torn in flitters, and is now grown obſolet and quite out of uſe. Touching *Pym* and *Stroud*, thoſe two worthy Champions of the *Utopian* cauſe, the firſt being opened, his ſtomack and guts were found to be full of pellets of bloud, the other had little or no brain in his skull being dead, and leſſe when he was living: Touching thoſe who carryed the firſt ſcan-

dalous Remonſtrance (that work of night and the verdict of a ſtarv'd jury) to welcome the King from *Scotland*, they have bin ſince (your Lordſhip knows well) the chief of the *Eleven* Members impeached by the Houſe. And now they are a kind of Runnagates beyond the Seas, ſcorn'd by all mankind, and baffled every where, yea, even by the Boors of *Holland*, and not daring to peep in any populous Town but by owle-light.

Moreover, I believe your Lordſhip hath good cauſe to remember that the ſame kind of riotous Raſcals, which rabbled the K. out of Town, did drive away the Speaker in like manner with many of their Memberſhips (amongſt whom your Lordſhip was fairly on his way,) to ſeek ſhelter of their Janizaries the Redcoats: Your Lordſhip muſt needs find what deadly fewds fal daily 'twixt the Presbyterian and the Independent, the two fiery brands that have put this poor Iſle ſo long in combuſtion. But 'tis worthy your Lordſhips ſpeciall notice how your dear Brethren the *Scots* (whom your Lordſhip ſo highly magnified in ſome of your publick Speeches) who were at firſt brought in for Hirelings againſt the King for them, offer themſelves now to come in againſt them for

the

the King: Your Lordſhip cannot be ignorant of the ſundry claſhes that have bin 'twixt the City and their Memberſhips, and 'twixt their Memberſhips and their men of War or Military Officers, who have often wav'd and diſobeyed their commands: How this tatterdimallian Army hath reduc'd this cow'd City, the cheated Country, and their once all-commanding Maſters, to a perfect paſſe of ſlavery, to a tru Aſinin condition; They crow over all the ancient Nobility and Gentry of the Kindom, though ther be not found amongſt them all but two Knights; and 'tis well kown ther be hundreds of privat Gentlemen in the Kingdom, the pooreſt of whom, is able to buy this whole Hoſt with the Generall himſelf and all the Commanders: But 'tis not the firſt time, that the Kings and Nobility of England have bin baffled by petty companions: I have read of *Jack Straw*, *Wat Tyler*, and *Ket* the Tanner, with divers others that did ſo, but being ſuppreſſed it tended to the advantage of the King at laſt; and what a world of examples are ther in our ſtory, that thoſe Noblemen who banded againſt the Crown, the revenge of heaven ever found them out early or late at laſt.

Theſe, with a black cloud of reciprocall

judgments more, which have come home to these Reformers very doors, shew that the hand of divine justice is in't, and the holy Prophet tells us, *When Gods judgments are upon earth, then the inhabitants shall learn justice.*

Touching your Lordship in particular, you have not, under favour, escap'd without some already, and I wish more may not follow; your Lordship may remember you lost one Son at *Bridgenorth*, your dear Daughter at *Oxford*, your Son-in-Law at *Newbury*, your Daughter-in-Law at the *Charter-house* of an infamous disease, how sick your Eldest son hath bin; how part of your house was burnt in the Country, with others which I will not now mention.

I will conclude this point with an observation of the most monstrous number of Witches that have swarm'd since these Wars against the King, more (I dare say) then have bin in this Island since the Devil tempted *Eve*; for in two Counties only, viz. *Suffolk* and *Essex*, ther have bin near upon three hundred arraign'd, and eightscore executed (as I have it from the Clerks of the Peace of those Counties;) what a barbarous deviliſh office one had, under colour

of

of examination, to torment poor ſilly women with watchings, pinchings and other artifices to find them for Witches: How others call'd ſpirits by a new invention of villany were conniv'd at for ſeizing upon young children, and hurrying them on ſhipboard, where having their heads ſhaven they were ſo transform'd that their parents could not know them, and ſo were carryed over for new ſchiſmaticall Plantations to *New-England* and other Seminaries of Rebellion. My Lord, ther is no villany that can enter into the imagination of man hath bin left here uncommitted; no crime from the higheſt Treaſon to the meaneſt Treſpaſſe, but theſe Reformers are guilty of. What horrid acts of prophanes have bin perpetrated up and down! the Monuments of the dead have bin rifled! Horſes have bin watered at the Church Font, and fed upon the holy Table! Widows, Orphans, and Hoſpitals have bin commonly robb'd, and Gods Houſe hath bin plunder'd more then any! with what infandous blaſphemies have Pulpits rung! one crying out, that *this Parliament was as neceſſary for our Reformation, as the comming of Chriſt was for our Redemption:* Another belching out, that it *God Almighty*

did not prosper this Cause, 'twere fitting he shold change places with the Devil: Another, *that the worst thing our Savoour did, was the making of the Dominical prayer, and saving the Thief upon the Crosse.* O immortal God, is it possible that England shold produce such Monsters, or rather such infernal fiends shap'd with humane bodies! yet your Lordship sides with these men, though they be enemies to the Cross, to the Church, and to the very name of *Jesus Christ*; I'le instance only in two who were esteem'd the Oracles of this holy Reformation, *Petrs*, and *Saltmarsh*; The first is known by thousands to be an infamous, jugling and scandalous villaine, among other feats, he got the Mother and Daughter with Child, as it was offered to be publickly proved; I could speak much of the other, but being dead, let it suffice that he dyed mad and desperate, yet these were accounted the two Apostles of the times.

My Lord, 'tis high time for you to recollect your self, to enter into the private closet of your thoughts, and summon them all to counsel upon your pillow; consider well the slavish condition your dear Country is in, weigh well the sad case your liege Lord and Master is in, how he is bereav'd of his Queen,

His

His Children, His Servants, His Liberty, His Chaplains, and of every thing in which there is any comfort; obſerve well, how nevertheleſſe, God Almighty works in Him by inſpiring Him with equality and calmneſſe of mind, with patience, prudence and conſtancy, How Hee makes His very Croſſes to ſtoop unto Him, when His Subjects will not: Conſider the monſtrouſneſſe of the Propoſitions that are tendred him, wherein no leſſe then Crown, Scepter, and Sword, which are things in-alienable from Majeſty, are in effect demanded, nay, they would have him tranſmit, and reſign his very intellectuals unto them, not only ſo, but they would have him make a ſacrifice of his ſoul, by forcing him to violate that ſolemne ſacramentall Oath hee took at his Coronation when hee was no *Minor*, but come to a full maturity of reaſon and judgement: make it your own caſe, My Lord, and that's the beſt way to judge of His: Think upon the multiplicity of ſolemne aſtringing Oathes your Lordſhip hath taken, moſt whereof directly and ſolely enjoyne faith and loyalty to his Perſon; oh my Lord! wrong not your ſoule ſo much, in compariſon of whom your body is but a rag of rottenneſſe.

Con-

Consider that acts of loyalty to the Crown are the faireſt columns to bear up a Noblemans name to future ages, and regiſter it in the temple of immortality. Reconcile your ſelf therefore ſpeedily unto your liege Lord and Maſter, think upon the infinit private obligations you have had both to Sire and Son: The Father kiſs'd you often, kiſſe you now the *Sun* leſt he be too angry; *And Kings*, you will find, my Lord, *are like the Sun in the heavens, which may be clouded for a time, yet he is ſtill in his ſphear, and will break out againe and ſhine as glorioufly as ever*; Let me tell your Lordſhip that the people begin to grow extream weary of their Phyſitians, they find the remedy to be far worſe then their former diſeaſe; nay they ſtick not to call ſome of them meer Quack-ſalvers rather then Phyſitians; Some goe further, & ſay they are no more a Parliament then a Pye-powder Court at *Bartholmew-Fair*, ther being all the eſſentiall parts of a true Parliament wanting in this, as fairneſſe of elections, freedome of ſpeech, fulneſſe of Members, nor have they any *head* at all; beſides, they have broken all the fundamental rules, and Priviledges of Parliament, and diſhonoured that high Court more then a-

ny

ny thing elſe: They have raviſh'd *Magna Charta* which they are ſworn to maintain, taken away our birth-right therby, and tranſgreſſed all the laws of heaven and earth: Laſtly, they have moſt perjuriouſly betrayed the truſt the *King* repoſed in them, and no leſſe the truſt their *Country* repoſed in them, ſo that if reaſon and law were now in date, by the breach of their Priviledges, and by betraying the ſaid double truſt that is put in them, they have diſſolved themſelves *ipſo facto* I cannot tell how many thouſand times, notwithſtanding that monſtrous grant of the Kings, *that fatall act of continuance*: And truly, my Lord, I am not to this day ſatisfied of the legality (though I am ſatisfied of the forcibleneſſe of that Act) whether it was in his Majeſties power to paſſe it or no; for the law ever preſuppoſeth theſe clauſes in all conceſſions of Grace, in all Patents, Charters, and Grants whatſoever the King paſſeth, *Salvo jure regio, ſalvo jure coronæ.*

To conclude, as I preſume to give your Lordſhip theſe humble cautions and advice in particular, ſo I offer it to all other of your rank, office, order and Relations, who have ſouls to ſave, and who by ſolemn indiſpenſable

sable Oaths have ingaged themseves to be tru and loyall to the Person of King *Charls*. Touching his *political* capacity, it is a fancy which hath bin exploded in all other Parliaments except in that mad infamous Parliament wher it was first hatched; That which bears upon Record the name of *Insanum Parliamentum* to all posterity, but many Acts have passed since that, it shold be high and horrible Treason *to separat or distinguish the Person of the King from His Power*; I believe, as I said before, this distinction will not serve their turn at the dreadful Bar of divine justice in the other world: indeed that Rule of the Pagans makes for them, *Si Jusjurandum violandum est, Tyrannis causâ violandum est, If an Oath be any way violable, 'tis to get a Kingdom*: We find by woful experience that according to this maxime they have made themselves all Kings by violation of so many Oaths; They have monopoliz'd the whole power and wealth of the Kingdom in their own hands; they cut, shuffle, deal, and turn up what trump they please, being Judges and parties in every thing.

My Lord, he who presents these humble advertisments to your Lordship, is one who is inclin'd to the Parliament of *Engl.* in as high a degree

degree of affection as possibly a free-born Subject can be; One besides, who wisheth your Lordships good, with the preservation of your safety and honour more really then he whom you intrust with your secretest affaires, or the *White Few* of the Upper House, who hath infused such pernicious principles into you; moreover, one who hath some drops of bloud running in his veins, which may claim kindred with your Lordship: and lastly, he is one who would kiss your *feet*, in lieu of your *hands*, if your Lordship wold be so sensible of the most desperat case of your poor Country, as to employ the interests, the opinion and power you have to restore the King your *Master* by English waies, rather then a hungry forrein *people*, who are like to bring nothing but destruction in the van, confusion in the rear, and rapine in the middle, shold have the honour of so glorious a work.

So humbly hoping your Lordship will not take with the left hand, what I offer with the right, I rest,

From the Prison of the Fleet 3. *Septembris* 1644.

Your Lordships truly devoted Servant.

F. H.

HIS
Late MAJESTIES Royal
DECLARATION,
OR
MANIFESTO
TO ALL
FORREIN PRINCES
AND
STATES,

Touching his conſtancy in the Proteſtant Religion.

Being traduced abroad by ſome Malicious and lying Agents,

That He was wavering therin, and upon the high road of returning to *Rome*.

Printed in the Year, 1661.

TO THE
Unbiaſs'd READER.

IT may be ſaid that *miſchief* in one particular hath ſomthing of *Vertue* in it, which is, That the Contrivers and Inſtruments thereof are ſtill ſtirring and watchfull. They are commonly more pragmaticall and fuller of Devices then thoſe ſober-minded men, who while they go on ſtill in the plaine road of *Reaſon*, having the King, and knowne Lawes to juſtifie and protect them, hold themſelfs ſecure enough, and ſo think no hurt; *Judas* eyes were open to betray his *Maſter*, while the reſt of his fellow-ſervants were quietly aſleep.

The Members at *Weſtminſter* were men of the firſt gang, for their Miſchievous braines were alwayes at work how to compaſſe their ends; And one of their prime policies in order thereunto was to caſt aſ-

persions on their King, thereby to alienat the affections and fidelity of his peeple from him notwithstanding that besides their pubick Declarations they made new Oaths and protestations, whereby they swore to make Him the best belov'd King that ever was;) Nor did this Diabolicall malice terminat only within the bounds of his own Dominions, but it extended to infect other Princes and States of the Reformed Churches abroad to make Him suspected in his Religion, & that he was branling in his belief, and upon the high way to *Rome*; To which purpose they sent missives and clandestine Emissaries to divers places beyond the Seas, whereof forren Authors make mention in their writings.

At that time when this was in the height of action, the passage from *London* to *Oxford*, where the King kept then his Court, was so narrowly blockd up, that a fly could scarce passe; some Ladies of honor being search'd in an unseemly and barbarous manner; whereupon the penner of the following Declaration, finding his Royal master to be so grosly traduced, made his Duty to go beyond all presumptions, by causing the sayd Declaration to be printed and publish'd in

Latin,

Latin, French and *English*, whereof great numbers were ſent beyond the ſeas to *France, Holland, Germany, Swiſſerland, Denmark, Swethland*, and to the Engliſh plantations abroad, to vindicat his Majeſty in this point, which produc'd very happy and advantagious effects for *Salmtiſius*, and other forrin writers of great eſteem ſpeake of it in their printed works. The Declaration was as followeth.

CAROLUS,

Singulari Omnipotentis Dei providentia Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ *Rex, Fidei Defensor*, &c. *Universis et singulis qui præsens hoc scriptum* ceu protestationem *inspexerint, potissimum Reformatæ Religionis cultoribus cujuscunq; sint gentis, gradus, aut conditionis, salutem*, &c.

CUM ad aures nostras non ita pridem fama pervenerit, siniſtros quosdam rumores, literasque *politica* vel *pernicioſa* potiùs quorundam industriâ sparsas esse, & nonnullis protestantium ecclesiis in exteris partibus emissas, nobis esse animum & consilium ab illa Orthodoxa

Religione quam ab incunabulis imbibimus, & ad hoc uſque momentum per integrum vitæ noſtræ curriculum amplexi ſumus recedendi; & Papiſmum in hæc Regna iterum introducendi, Quæ conjectura, ceu nefanda potius calumnia nullo prorſus nixa vel imaginabili fundamento horrendos hoſce tumultus, & rabiem pluſquàm belluinam in Anglia ſuſcitavit ſub pretextu cujuſdam (chimericæ) Reformationis regimini, legibuſque hujus Dominii non ſolum incongruæ, ſed incompatibilis: VOLUMUS, ut toti Chriſtiano Orbi innoteſcat, ne minimam quidem animum noſtrum incidiſſe cogitatiunculam hoc aggrediendi, aut tranſverſum unguem ab illa Religione diſcedendi quam cum corona, ſceptroque hujus regni ſolenni, & ſacramentali juramento tenemur profiteri, protegere & propugnare. Nec tantum

tum conſtantiſſima noſtra praxis, & quotidiana in exercitiis præfatæ Religionis præſentia, cum crebris in facie noſtrorum agminum aſſeverationibus, publiciſque procerum hujus Regni teſtimoniis, & ſedula in regiam noſtram ſobolem educando circumſpectione (omiſſis plurimis aliis argumentis) luculentiſsimè hoc demonſtrat, ſed etiam fæliciſsimum illud matrimonium quod inter noſtram primogenitam, & illuſtriſsimum principem *Auſtricum* ſponte contraximus, idem fortiſsimè atteſtatur: Quo nuptiali fædere inſuper conſtat, nobis non eſſe propoſitum illam profiteri ſolummodo, ſed expandere, & corroborare quantum in nobis ſitum eſt.

Hanc ſacroſanctam Anglicanæ Chriſti Eccleſiæ Religionem, tot Theologorum convocationibus ſancitam, tot comitiorum edictis confirmatam

ma tam, tot Regiis Diplomatibus ſtabilitam, una cum regimine Eccleſiaſtico, & Liturgia ei annexa, quam liturgiam, regimenque celebriores proteſtantium Authores tam *Germani*, quam *Galli*, tam *Dani* quam *Helvetici*, tam *Batavi*, quam *Bohemi* multis elogiis nec ſine quadam invidia in ſuis publicis ſcriptis comprobant & applaudunt, ut in tranſactionibus *Dordrechtanæ Synodus*, cui nonnulli noſtrorum *præſulum*, quorum Dignitati debita preſtita fuit reverentia, interfuerunt, apparet Iſtam, inquimus Religionem, quam Regius noſter pater (beatiſsimæ memoriæ) in illa celeberrima fidei ſuæ *Confeßione* omnibus Chriſtianis principibus (ut & hæc præſens noſtra *proteſtatio* exhibita) publicè aſſerit: Iſtam, iſtam Religionem ſolenniter proteſtamur, Nos integram, ſartam-tectam, & inviolabilem conſervaturos, & pro virili

rili noſtro (divino adjuvante Numine) uſque ad extremam vitæ noſtræ periodum protecturos, & omnibus noſtris Eccleſiaſticis pro muneris noſtri, & ſupradicti ſacroſancti juramenti ratione doceri, & prædicari curaturos. Quapropter injungimus & in mandatis damus Omnibus miniſtris noſtris in exteris partibus tam Legatis, quam Reſidentibus, Agentibuſque & nunciis, reliquiſque noſtris ſubditis ubicunque Orbis Chriſtiani terrarum aut curioſitatis aut comercii gracia degentibus, hanc ſolennem & ſinceram noſtram proteſtationem, quandocunque ſeſe obtulerit loci & temporis oportunitas, communicare, aſſerere, aſſeverare.

Dat. in Academia et Civitate noſtra Oxonienſi pridie Idus Maii, 1644.

Charles

CHARLES by the ſpecial Providence of Almighty God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defendor of the Faith, *&c.* To all who profeſs the tru Reformed Proteſtant Religion, of what Nation, degree, and condition ſoever they be to whom this preſent Declaration ſhall come, Greeting.

WHeras *We are given to underſtand, that many falſe rumors, and ſcandalous letters are ſpread up and down*

down amongst the Reformed Churches in forein parts by the Pollitick, *or rather the* pernitious *industry of som ill-affected persons, that we have an inclination to recede from that Orthodox Religion, which we were born, baptized, and bred in, & which We have firmly professed and practised throughout the whol course of our life to this moment, and that We intend to give way to the introduction, and publick exercise of Popery again in Our Dominions: Which conjecture or rather most detestable* calumny, *being grounded upon no imaginable foundation, hath raised*

these

these horrid tumults, and more then barbarous wars throughout this flouriſhing Iſland, under pretext of a kind of *Reformation, which wold not only prove incongruous, but incompatible with the fundamental Laws and Government of this Kingdom, We do deſire that the whol Chriſtian world ſhold take notice and reſt aſſured, that We never entertained in Our imagination the leaſt thought to attempt ſuch a thing, or to depart a jot from that holy Religion, which when We received the Crown and Scepter of this Kingdom, VVe took a moſt ſolemn Sacramental Oath to profeſs*

and

and protect. Nor doth Our most constant practise and quotidian visible presence in the exercise of this sole *Religion, with so many Asseverations in the head of Our Armies, and the publick attestation of Our Barons, with the circumspection used in the education of our Royall Off-spring, besides divers other undeniable Arguments, only demonstrate this; But also that happy Alliance of Marriage, We contracted 'twixt Our eldest Daughter, and the Illustrious Prince of* Orenge, *most clearly confirmes the reality of Our intentions herein; by which Nuptial*

tial ingagement it appears further, that Our endeavours are not only to make a bare profession thereof in Our own Dominions, but to inlarge and corroborate it abroad as much as lieth in Our Power: This most holy Religion of the Anglican *Church, ordained by so many* Convocations *of learned Divines, confirmed by so many Acts of National Parliaments, and strengthned by so many Royal Proclamations, together with the Ecclesiastick discipline, and* Liturgy *therunto appertaining, which* Liturgy *and discipline, the most eminent of Protestant Authors, as well*

well Germans *as* French; *as well* Danes *as* Swedes *and* Swittzens; *as well* Belgians *as* Bohemians, *do with many Elogies (and not without a kind of Envy) approve and applaud in their publick Writings, particularly in the transactions of the Synod of* Dort, *wherin besides other of Our Divines (who afterwards were Prelates) one of our Bishops assisted, to whose dignity all due respects and precedency was given: This Religion We say, which Our Royal Father of blessed memory doth publickly assert in His famous* Confession *addres'd, as we also do this our Protestation,*

to

to all Christian Princes; This, this most holy Religion, with the Hierarchy and Liturgy therof, We solemnly protest, that by the help of Almighty God, we will endeavour to Our utmost power, and last period of our life, to keep entire and inviolable, and will be careful, according to Our duty to Heaven, and the tenor of the aforesaid most sacred Oath at Our Coronation, that all Our Ecclesiasticks in their several degrees and incumbences shall preach and practise the same. Wherfore We enjoyn and command all Our Ministers of State beyond the Seas, aswell Am-

baſſadors as Reſidents, Agents, and Meſſengers, And VVe deſire all the reſt of Our loving ſubjects that ſojourn either for curioſity or commerce in any forein parts, to communicate, uphold and aſſert this Our ſolemn and ſincere proteſtation when opportunity of time and place ſhall be offered.

CHARLES, *par la Providence de Dieu Roy de la grand'* Bretagne, *de* France, *et d'* Irlande, *Defenſeur de la Foy*, &c. *A tous ceux qui ceſte preſente Declaration verront, particulierement a Ceux de la Religion Reformee de quelque Nation, degreou condition qu'ils ſoient, Salut.*

AYant receu advis de bonne main que pluſieurs faux rapports & lettres ſont eſparſes parmi les Egliſes Reformees de là la mer, par la *politique*, ou pluſtoſt la *pernicieuſe* induſtrie de perſonnes mal affectionnes a noſtre governement; que nous auons deſſein a receder de celle Religion que Nous auons profeſsè & pratiquè tout le temps de noſtre vie iuſques a preſent; & de vouloir introduire la papautè derechef en nos Dominions, Laquelle conjecture, ou *calumnie* pluſtoſt, appuyee ſur nul fundement imaginable, a ſuſcitè ces horribles tumultes

& allumè le feu d' une treſſanglante guerre en tous les quatre coins de ceſte fleuriſſante Monarchie, ſoubs pretexte d' une (*chymerique*) Reformation, la quelle ſeroit incompatible avec le governement & les loix fondementales de ce Royaume.

Nous Deſirons, quil ſoit notoire a tout le monde, que la moindre penſee de ce faire n a pas entree en noſtre imagination, de departir ancunement de cell' OrthodoxeReligion, qu' auec la Couronne & le ſceptre de ce Royaume Nous ſommes tenus par un ſerment ſolennel & ſacramentaire a proteger & defendre. Ce qu' appert non ſeulement par noſtre quotidienne preſence es Exercies de la dite Religion, avec, tant d' aſſeverations a la teſte de nos Armees, & la publicque Atteſtation de nos Barons,avec le ſoin que nous tenons en la nourriturede princes & princeſſes nos enſans, Mais le treſ-heureux mariage que nous avons conclu entre la noſtre plus aiſnee, & le tres-illuſtrie prince d' *Orenge* en eſt encore un treſ-evident teſmoignage,par la quell' alliance il appert auſſy,que noſtre deſir eſt de n' en faire pas vne nue profeſſion ſeulement dicelle, mais de la vouloir eſtendre & corroberer autant qu' il nous eſt poſſible : Ceſt' Orthodoxe Religion de

leglise *Anglicane* Ordonnee par tant de conventione de Teologues, confirmee par tant de arrests d' Parlement, & fortifie par tant d' Edicts royaux auec la discipline & la Lyturgie a elle appartenant, laquelle discipline & Lyturgie les plus celebres Autheurs Protestants, tant *Francois*, qu' *Allemands*; tant *Seudois* que *Suisses*, tant *Belgiens* que *Bohemiens* approuent entierement & non sans quelqu envie en leur escrits particulierement en la Synode de *Dort*, ou un de nos Eueſques assistoit, & la Reverence & precedence deue a sa dignite Ecclesiastique luy fut exactement rendue: Ceste tres-sainte Religion que nostre feu *pere* de tres-heureuse memoire aduoue en sa celebre *Confession* de la Foy addressee come nous faisons ceste *Declaration* a tous Princes Chrestiens; Nous Protestons que moyennant la grace de Dieu, nous tascherone de conseruer ceste Religion inviolable, & en son entier selon la mesure de puissance que Dieu amis entre nos mains; Et nous requerons & commandons a tous nos ministres d' estat tant Ambassadeurs, que Resident, Agens ou messagers, & a tous autres nos subjects qui font leur seiour es payses trangers de communiquer, maintenir & adouuer ceste nostre solennelle Protestation toutes fois & quantes que l' ocasion se presentera.

APOLOGS,

OR

FABLES

MYTHOLOGIZ'D.

Out of whoſe Moralls the State and *Hiſtory* of the late unhappy Diſtractions in *Great Britain* and *Ireland* may be Extracted;

Some of which *Apologs* have prov'd *PROPHETICAL.*

——*Nil eſt niſi* Fabula *Mundus.*

LONDON,
Printed in the Year, 1661.

To my Honored and known friend Sir I. C. *Knight.*

SIR,

AMongſt many other Barbariſmes which like an impetuous Torrent have lately ruſh'd in upon us, The interception and opening of Letters is none of the leaſt, For it hath quite bereft all ingenious Spirits of that correſpondency and ſweet communication of fancy, which hath bin alwaies eſteemed the beſt fuel of affection, and the very marrow of friendſhip. And truly, in my judgement, this cuſtom may be termed not only a *Barbariſme*, but the baſeſt kind

of

of *Burglary* that can be, 'tis a plundering of the very brain, as is ſpoken in another place.

We are reduced here to that ſervile condition, or rather to ſuch a height of ſlavery, that we have nothing left which may entitle us free Rationall creatures; the *thought* it ſelf cannot ſay 'tis free, much leſs the *tongue* or *pen*. Which makes me impart unto You the traverſes of theſe turbulent times, under the following fables. I know you are an exquiſite Aſtronomer. I know the deep inſpection you have in all parts of Philoſophy, I know you are a good Herald, and I have found in your Library ſundry books of Architecture, and Comments upon *Vitruvius*. The unfolding of theſe *Apologues* will put you to it in all theſe, and will require your ſecond, if not your third thoughts, and when you have concoct-

ed

ed them well, I believe, (elſe I am much deceived in your Genius) they will afford you ſom entertainment, and do the errand upon which they are ſent, which is, to communicate unto you the moſt material paſſages of this long'd-for Parlement, and of theſe ſad confuſions which have ſo unhing'd, diſtorted, tranſvers'd, tumbled and diſlocated all things, that *England* may be termed now, in compariſon of what it was, no other then an *Anagram of a Kingdom.* One thing I promiſe you, in the peruſal of theſe Parables, that you ſhall find no gingles in them, or any thing ſordid or ſcurrilous, the common dialect and diſeaſe of theſe times. So I leave you to the gard and guidance,

of God *and* Vertu *who do ſtill advance*
Their Favorits, maugre the frownes of Chance.

Your conſtant ſervant,

F. H.

The great CONJUNCTION, OR, *Parlement* of STARS.

UPon a time, the *Stars* complained to *Apollo*, that he diſplayed his beams too much upon ſome malignant *Planets*; That the *Moone* had too great a ſhare of his influence, and that he was carryed away too much by her motion: They complained alſo, that the conſtellation of *Libra* (which holds the ballance of Juſtice) had but a dim light, and that the *Aſtrean* Court was grown altogether deſtructive, with divers other grievances. *Apollo* hereupon, commanded *Mercury* to ſummon a generall Synod, where ſome out of every *Aſteriſme* throughout the whole Firmament were to meet; *Apollo* told them, I am placed here by the finger of the Almighty, to be Monarch of the *skie*, to be the Meaſurer of *Time*, and

I goe upon his errand round about the world every foure and twenty houres: I am also the Fountaine of *Heate* and *Light*, which, though I use to dispence and diffuse in equall proportions through the whole Universe; yet there is difference 'twixt objects, a *Castle* hath more of my light then a *Cottage*, and the *Cedar* hath more of me then the *Shrub*, according to the common axiom, *Quicquid recipitur, recipitur ad modum recipientis*. But touching the *Moon*, (the second great *Luminary*) I would have you know, that she is deerest unto mee, therefore let none repine that I cherish *her* with my beams, and confer more light on *her* then any other. Touching the malignant *Planets*, or any other *Star*, of what magnitude soever, that moves not in a regular motion, or hath run any *excentrick exorbitant* course, or that would have made me to move out of the *Zodiak*, I put them over unto *you*, that upon due legall examination and proof, they may be *unspher'd* or extinguished. But I would have this done with moderation; I would have you to keep as neer as you can between the *Tropiques* and temperate *Zones*: I would have things reduced to their true Principles, I wold have things *reformed*, not *ruin'd*; I would

would have the ſpirit of malice and lying, the ſpirit of partiality and injuſtice, the ſpirit of tyranny and rigour, the baſe ſpirit of feare and jealouſie to be farre from this glorious *Syderean* Synod; I would have all private intereſts reflecting upon revenge or profit, to be utterly baniſhed hence: Moreover, I would not have you to make *grievances*, where no grievances are, or *dangers* where no dangers are. I would have no *creation* of dangers; I would have you to husband time as parſimoniouſly as you can, leſt by keeping too long together, and amuſing the world with ſuch tedious hopes of redreſs of grievances, you prove your ſelf the greateſt *grievance* at laſt, and ſo from *Starrs* become *Comets*: Laſtly, I would have you be cautious how you tamper with my Soveraign power, and chop Logicke with mee in that point; you know what became of *Him* who once preſumed to meddle with my Chariot. Hereupon the whole Hoſt of *Heaven* being conſtellated thus into one great *Body*, fell into a ſerious deliberation of things, and *Apollo* himſelf continued his preſence, and ſate often amongſt them in his full *luſtre*, but in the meane time, whileſt they were in the midſt of their conſultations, many

ny odde *Aſpects*, *Oppoſitions* and *Conjunctions* hapned between them: for ſome of the *Sporades*, but ſpecially thoſe mongrel ſmall vulgar *ſtars*, which make up the *Galaxia* (the milkie way in *Heaven*) gather in a tumultuous diſorderly manner about the body of *Apollo*, and commit many ſtrange inſolencies, which cauſed *Apollo* (taking young *Phoſphorus* the *Morning-Star* with him) to retire himſelf, and in a juſt indignation to withdraw his *Light* from the *Synod*: ſo all began to be involv'd in a ſtrange kind of confuſion and obſcurity; they groaped in the dark, not knowing which way to move, or what courſe to take, all things went *Cancer-like* retrograde, becauſe the *Sun* detained his wonted light and *irradiations* from them.

MORALL.

"Such as the *Sun* is in the Firmament, a "Monarch is in his Kingdom: for, as the Wi- "ſeſt of men ſaith, *In the light of the Kings* "*Countenance ther is life*; and I believe that "to be the Morall of this *Aſtrean Fable*.

Ὀρνιλογία.

OR,

The Great Councell of BIRDS.

UPon a time the *Birds* met in Councell, for redresse of som extravagancies that had flown unto the *volatil Empire*; Nor was it the first time that Birds met thus; for the *Phrygian Fabler* tells us of divers meetings of theirs: And after him we read that *Apollonius Thyaneus*, undertook the interpretation of their language, and to be their *Drogoman*.

They thus assembled in one Great *Covie* by the call of the *Eagle* their unquestioned hereditary King, and by vertue of his Royal Authority, complaints were brought, that divers *Cormorants* and *Harpies*, with other Birds of prey, had got in amongst them, who did much annoy and invade the publick liberty: sundry other Birds were questioned, which caused some to take a timely flight into another aire. Finch, &c.

As they were thus consulting for advancement of the common good, many *Rooks*, *Horn-Owles* and *Sea-Gulls* Mechanicks. Mariners.

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MORALL.

"Such as the *Sun* is in the Firmament, a "Monarch is in his Kingdom: for, as the Wi- "ſeſt of men ſaith, *In the light of the Kings* "*Countenance ther is life*; and I believe that "to be the Morall of this *Aſtrean Fable*.

Ὀρνιλογία.

OR,

The Great Councell of BIRDS.

UPon a time the *Birds* met in Councell, for redreſſe of ſom extravagancies that had flown unto the *volatil Empire*; Nor was it the firſt time that Birds met thus; for the *Phrygian Fabler* tells us of divers meetings of theirs: And after him we read that *Apollonius Thyaneus*, undertook the interpretation of their language, and to be their *Drogoman*.

They thus aſſembled in one Great *Covie* by the call of the *Eagle* their unqueſtioned hereditary King, and by vertue of his Royal Authority, complaints were brought, that divers *Cormorants* and *Harpies*, with other Birds of prey, had got in amongſt them, who did much annoy and invade the publick liberty: ſundry other Birds were queſtioned, which cauſed ſome to take a timely flight into another aire. Finch, &c.

As they were thus conſulting for advancement of the common good, many *Rooks*, *Horn-Owles* and *Sea-Gulls* Mechanicks. Mariners.

flock'd together, and fluttered about the place they were assembled in, where they kept a hideous noise, and committed many outrages, and nothing cold satisfie them, but the *Griffons* head, which was therfore chopt off, and offered up as a sacrifice to make them leave their chattering, and to appease their fury for the time.

Bt Straff.

They fell foul afterwards upon the *Pies*, who were used to be much reverenced, and to sit upon the highest pearch in that great Assembly: they called them Idolatrous and inauspitious Birds, they hated their mix'd colour, repined at their long train, they tore their white feathers, and were ready to peck out their very eyes: they did what they could to put them in *Owles* feathers (as the poor *Sheep* was in the *Woolfs* skin) to make them the more hated, and to be star'd and hooted at wherfoever they passed. The *Pies* being thus scar'd, presented a Petition to the royall *Eagle*, and to this his great Counsell, that they might be secured to repaire safely thither to sit and consult, according to the ancient Lawes of the *Volatill Empire* continued so many ages without controllment or question: in which Petition they inserted

Bishops.

inserted a Protest or Caveat, that no publique act should passe in the interim. This Supplication, both for matter and form, was excepted against, and cryed up to be high Treason, specially that indefinite Protest they had made, that no Act whatsoever should be of any validity without them, which was alledged to derogate from the High Law-making power of that Great Counsell, and tended to retard and disturb the great Affaires which were then in agitation: so the poor *Pies*, as if by that Petition they had like the Black-bird voided Lime to catch themselves, (according to the Proverb, *Turdus cacat sibi malum*) were suddenly hurryed away into a Cage, and after ten long Moneths canvassing of the point, they were unpearch'd, and rendered for ever uncapable to be Members of that Court, they were struck dumb and voice-less, and suddenly as it were blown up away thence, though without any force of powder, as once was plotted against them. But this was done when a thin number of the adverse Birds had kept still together, and stuck close against them, and also after that the *Bill* concerning them had bin once ejected, which they humbly conceived by the ancient order

of that Court could not be re-admitted in the ſame Seſſion. They Petitioned from the place they were cooped in, that for heavens ſake, for the honour of that noble Counſell, for Truth and Juſtice ſake, they being as free-born Deniſons of the aiery *Region*, as any other *Volatills* whatſoever, their charge might be perfected, that ſo they might be brought to a legall triall, and not forced to languiſh in ſuch captivity. They pleaded to have done nothing but what they had precedents for: And touching the *Caveat* they had inſerted, it was a thing unuſuall in every inferiour Court of Judicature, and had they forborn to have done it, they had *betrayed their own neſt*, and done wrong to their ſucceſſors. It was affirmed they had bin Members of that Body politique, long before thoſe *lower ptarch'd Birds*, who now wold caſt them out; and that they had bin their beſt friends to introduce them to have any thing do do in that generall Counſell: they prayed they might not be Scot. ſo cruelly uſed, as the *Solan gooſe*, and *Redſhanke* had uſed them, who were not content to brail and clip their wings only, but to ſear them ſo, that they ſhold never grow again; to handle them ſo unmercifully,

was

was not the way to make their adverſaries Birds of Paradice: in fine, they adviſed them to remember what the ſick *Kite's* Mother anſwered him, when he deſired her to pray to the Gods for him, *How canſt thou, ſaid ſhe, expect any good from the Gods, whoſe Temples thou haſt ſo violated?* At laſt, upon the importunity and pitifulneſs of their Petitions, the accuſation of Treaſon, which kept ſuch a noiſe at firſt, being declined againſt them, they were releaſed in the morning, but cooped up again before night: and after the revolution of four full Moons, they were reſtored again to a conditionall liberty, under which they remain till this day.

Ther wants not ſom, who affirm, that in that Great Counſell of Birds, ther were ſom Decoys (and 'tis well known where Decoys were firſt bred) who called in, not only theſe mongrill obſtreperous Birds from abroad to commit ſuch outrages as were ſpoken of before, but drew after them alſo many of the greateſt Birds, who ſate in that Aſſembly, to follow them whither they liſted: Others, who were of a more generous extraction, diſdained to be ſuch Buzzards, as to be carryed away hood-wincked

in that manner, to be *Birds of their feather.* Thus a visible faction was hatched in this great Counsell, as if the said Decoyes had disgorged and let fall som grains of *Hemlock* seeds amongst them to distemper their brains. Or, as if som *Spinturnix*, that fatall incendiary Bird, or som ill-boding *Scritch-Owle*, which as stories tell us appeared once at *Rome*, in a famous, though unfortunate great Counsell (when ther was a schism in the Popedom) had appeared likewise here. Ther wanted not also amongst them som *Amphibious* Birds, as the *Barnacle*, which is neither Fish nor Fowle; and the cunning *Batt*, who sometimes professeth himself a Bird, sometimes a Mouse. I will not say ther were any *Paphlagonian* Birds amongst them, who are known to have double hearts. But 'tis certain, that in this confusion ther were som malevolent Birds, and many of them so young, that they were scarce *fledg'd*, who like the Waspe in the Fable, conspired to fire the Eagles nest, (and a Wasp may somtimes do mischief to an *Eagle* as a *Mouse* to an *Elephant.*) Moreover som of these light brained Birds flew so high, that they seemed to arrogate to themselves, and exercise royall power, but foolishly; for we know

know what became of the Crow upon the Ram's back, when ſhe thought to imitate the Eagle: And as it was obſerved that they were moſt eager to attempt thoſe high inſolenſies againſt Jove's Bird, *who had bin ſtark naked, and as bare as* Cootes, unleſſe he had feathered them; ſo that the little *Ant* was more grateful to *Eſops Bird*; then thoſe Birds were to the *Eagle* their liege Lord and Maſter. But the high-born Bird with the two *golden wings*, the noble *Faulcons*, the *Martlets*, the *Ravens*, the *Swan*, the *Chough*, and all the ancient Birds of the Mountains remained faithful and firm to the *Eagle*, and ſcorned to be carryed away by ſuch Decoyes; As alſo the generous *Oſtriches*, who unleſſe they had had an extraordinary ſtomach, could not have digeſted ſuch *iron* pills as were offered them. Amongſt other great Birds which banded againſt the *Eagle*, the flying Dragons, Green and White, were buſie, ſpecially the White; And for the Green, conſidering he was an ancient Bird of the Mountains, and that his Progenitors had bin ſo renowned for their rare loyaly to the Crown, every one wondered

M Hert.
E. South.
E Weſtm.
E Worce.
E. Dover.
Wales.
Digbies.

E. Pemb.
E Warw.

dered that he ſhold be drawn ſo far by the forefaid Decoyes, as to be the firſt of his race that ſhold clap his wings againſt his Soverain Liege Lord.

The aforeſaid deſtractions continued ſtill, and increaſed more and more in that general convolation of *Birds*; therfore the Turtle wold ſtay ther no longer, ther was ſo much gall amongſt them: the *Pelecan* flew away, he ſaw *Piety* ſo vilified; the *Dove* was weary of their company, ſhe found no *ſimplicity* and plain dealing amongſt them: And the *Kings-Fiſher*, the *Halcyon* (the Em-
Arondelle. blem of Peace) quite forſook them, he found ſo much jarring, diſſentions, and bandings on all ſides; the *Swallow* alſo, who had ſo ancient and honourable a rank amongſt them, got into another aire, he fore-ſaw the weather was like to ſo be foul:
Her Majeſty. And laſtly, *Philomela*, the Queen of *Volatills*, who was partner of the Eagle's neſt, abandoned them quite, and put a Sea 'twixt her and them; nay, the *Eagle* himſelf withdrew his royal preſence from them; ſo the Decoyes aforeſaid carryed all before them, and comported themſelves by their *Orders* in that hight, as if like the *Lapwing*, every one had a *Crown* on his head; they ſo inchanted

inchanted in a manner, all the common ſort of *Oppidan*, *rurall*, and Sea-birds, and infuſed ſuch a credulity into them, that they believed them to have an inerring ſpirit, and what came from them, was as tru as the *Pentateuch*: Moreover, it was ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that ther was a pernicious plot amongſt them to let in the *Stork*, who is never ſeen to ſtay long in any Monarchy.

MORALL.

"Moderation is that Goden Rule wher-
"by all Great Counſells ſhold ſquare their
"deliberations, and nothing can tend more
"to their Honour or diſhonour, in point of
"Wiſdom: Moreover, in a Succeſſive here-
"ditary Monarchy, when ſubjects aſſume
"*Regall Power*, when they bar the Holy
"Church of her Rights, & of that Reverence
"which is due to her chief Profeſſors, it is
"the moſt compendious way to bring all
"things to confuſion, and conſequently to
"an inevitable ruine, or ſom fatal Change.

And this I hold to be the chiefeſt Morall of this Apologue of Birds.

Ἀνθολογία,

The gathering together, or *Parlement* of FLOWERS.

UPon a time, The *Flowers* assembled, and met in one generall Counsell, by the authority and summons of the Soveraign *Rose*, their undoubted naturall King, who had taken the *Lilly* for his royall spouse. The dew of heaven fell plentifully upon this happy conjunction, which made them to *Bourgeon*, to propagate and prosper exceedingly, in so much, that the sweet fragrant odor which they did cast, diffused it self over all the earth. To this meeting came the *Violet*, *Gilliflower*, the *Rosemary*, the *Tulyp*, *Lavender* and *Thyme*, the *Cinquefoyle* M. Hamilt. (though of a forren growth) had an honourable rank amongst them, and as some observed, got too much credit with the royal *Rose*. The *Flowers* of the *field* were admitted also to this great Counsell: the *Cowslip*, the *Honysukle* and *Daisie* had their Delegates there present, to consult of a Reformation of certain abuses which had taken *rooting* in the Common wealth of *Flowers*, and being all

all under the *Roſe*, they had priviledge to ſpeak all things with freedome; Complaints were made that much *Cockle* and *Darnell*, with other noxious *Herbs* and *tares* were crept in amongſt them, that the *Poppie* did *pullulat* too much, with divers other grievances: The ſucceſſe of this Senat, this great *Bed* or *Poſie* of living *Flowers*, was like to prove very proſperous, but that the *herb Briony*, *Wormwood*, *Wolfbane*, *Rue*, and *Melampod* (the emblems of Sedition, *Malice*, *Feare*, *Ambition* and *Iealouſie*) thruſt in amongſt them, and much diſtempered their proceedings: Theſe brought in with them the Scot-Bur, which exceedingly retarded and intangled all buſineſſes; and it was thought that the *Thiſtle* was too medling amongſt them, which made matters grow to that acrimony and confuſion, as if the *herb Morſus diaboli* had got in amongſt them. Amongſt many other good-morrows, they propounded to the *Roſe*, that he ſhould part with his *prickles*, and tranſmit his ſtrength that way to be diſpoſed of by them; the Royall Roſe liked not this bold requeſt of theirs, though couched in very ſmooth language, but anſwered, I have hitherto condeſcended to every thing you have propoun-

pounded, much more then any of my Predeceſſors ever did; but touching theſe *prickles*, which God and nature hath given mee, and are inherent in me and my ſtock from the beginning, though they be but excreſſencies, yet you know they fortifie and arm me, *Armat Spina Roſam*. And by them I protect you and your *rights* from violence, and what *protection I pray can there be without ſtrength?* therefore I will by no means part with them to enfeeble my regall Power, but will retain them ſtill, and bequeath them to my Poſterity, which I would be loth to betray in this point; nor doe I much value what that ſilly *infected* Animall, the *King* of *Bees* tells me ſometimes, when humming up and downe my leaves, he would buzze this fond belief into me, how it added much to his Majeſtie, that nature gives him no *ſting*, as all other Bees have, becauſe he ſhould rely altogether upon the love and loyalty of his ſubjects. No; I will take warning by the *Eagle*, the King of *Volatills*, and by the *Lyon*, King of *Quadrupedals*, who (as the *Prince* of *Moraliſts* reports) when by fayre inſinuations the one had parted with his *tallons*, the other with his *teeth* and *ongles*, wherein their might, and conſequently their Majeſty conſiſted,

Plut.

grew

grew afterwards contemptible to all creatures, and quite loſt that natural allegeance and awe which was duc unto the one from all *birds*, and to the other, from all *beaſts* of *field* and *forreſt*.

MORALL.

" Every naturall borne Monarch, hath " an inherent inalienable ſtrength in himſelf, " which is the common *Militia* of his King- " dome; for, though the peoples *love* (which " oftentimes is got by an Apple, and loſt by " a Peare) be a good Cittadell, yet there " muſt be a concurrence of ſome viſible ſet- " led *force* beſides, which no earthly power " may diſpoſe of without his royall com- " mands: and for him to tranſmit this " ſtrength to any other, is the only way to " render him inglorious and deſpicable, both " at home and abroad; And thus you have " the ſpirit of theſe Flowers, and *Morall* of " the *Fable*.

The Aſſembly of Architects.

THere was an ancient goodly *Palace*, compoſed of divers pieces, and partition'd into ſundry *Chambers*, *Halls* and *Courts*, which

which were ſupported by mixt *Pillars*, partly *Corinthian*, partly *Ionique*, but principally by the *Dorique* the King of *Columnes*, as having the firmeſt *Pedeſtall*: Some tooke exceptions, and alledged, that ſome of the ſaid *Courts* were too high, and ſome of the *Chambers* in this *Structure* were too wide. The Lord of this *Paluce* call'd together the beſt *Maſons* and *Architects*, to adviſe with him (not *without him*) for mending of thoſe faults, the better contrivance of the roomes, and to reduce the *Building* to a juſt proportion. They ſolemnly met, and falling to conſultation hereof, they found that the *Chamber* which was ſpangled with *Stars*, and where his privat Counſell of *State* did uſe to ſit, were too wide; they thought that the *Court* erected on the *North-ſide*, and that learned *Court* where *Eccleſiaſticall* matters were ſcanned, was too high; Theſe, with that peculiar *Court* which was erected for the ſupport of Honour, they went about in lieu of rectifying, to *ruinat* and raze to the very ground; and ſome of theſe *Maſons* (for indeed they were rather *Maſons* then true *Architects*) were ſo preciſe and over critticall, that they ſeem'd to find fault with the poſition of the *Chappell* that belong'd to this

this *Palace*, becauſe, forſooth, it ſtood *Eaſt* and *weſt*, which ſituation, only in regard it was ancient, they held to be a ſuperſtitious poſture; They ſeem'd to repine at the decencie, riches and ornament of it, with divers other frivolous exceptions. The Lord of the *Palace* ſaid little to that, but touching the errors and diſproportions in the foreſaid *Courts* and *Chambers* of publick juſtice, he was very willing they ſhould be amended, and reduced to a true dimenſion and ſymmetrie; and that all other roomes ſhould be ſearched and ſwept cleane: but he would be loth to ſee thoſe ancient pieces quite demoliſh'd, for that would hazard the fall of the maine Fabrique, his princely hereditary patrimony (deſcended upon him from ſo many wiſe *Oeconomiſts* and royall *Progenitors*) in regard of the *juncture* and *contignation* thoſe parts had with the whole frame. To mend a thing by demoliſhing it, is as curing a ſick body by knocking him in the head: he told them it was eaſier far to pull down, then build up; one may batter to pieces in one houre, that which cannot be built in an age: That everlaſting *Villaine*, who burnt the *Epheſian* Temple, deſtroyed, as it were in a trice, what was a rearing up ten long *Olympiads*: He

wiſh'd

wiſh'd them further to be very cautious how they medled with th the Angulars and Baſis of that Royal Structure; for ſo they might prove as wiſe as thoſe Architects, *who took out ſom of the foundation ſtones, to repair the roof.* Laſtly, he told them, that if they intended to pull down any part of his own ſtanding Palace, they ſhold be well adviſed before hand of the faſhion wherof that new Fabrick ſhold be, which they purpoſed to rear up in the room of the old.

MORAL.

"Innovations are of dangerous conſe-
"quence in all things, ſpecially in a ſetled
"well temper'd ancient *State*; therfore
"ther ſhold be great heed taken, before a-
"ny ancient *Court* of Judicature, erected as a
"Pillar to ſupport Juſtice by the wiſdom of
"our Progenitors, be quite put down; for
"it may ſhake the whole Fram of Govern-
"ment, and introduce a change; and chan-
"ges in Government are commonly fatall,
"for ſeldom comes a better. And this I
"hold to be the aim of this *Apologue*.

The

The Insurrection of the Winds.

IT fortuned, that the Winds banded against *Eolus*: And *Boreas* (the North-wind) began to bluster first, and wold *blow wher he listed*, he grew so boisterous, that he is call'd *Scopa viarum*, the high-way Beesom, he seem'd to sweep all before him Southward, insomuch, that uniting all his strength into one body, he made towards *Eolus* in a hostile armed manner, and so obtained of him what he desired. After his example (and an odde example it was) the West-wind, his fellow subject rose up, alledging, that though he blew from the left-side of Heaven, yet he deserved to be as much favoured as *Boreas*, in regard he drove a far richer trade; and blew upon a more fertile Countrey, which brought in much more benefit to the rest of *Eolus* his Dominions; therfore he would have his liberties also assur'd him, which he alledged were altogether as ancient as the others: This made him puff with such an impetuous violence, that his blasts brought with them (God wot) divers showres of bloud, and whole Cataracts of

The Scot. The Irish.

calamities: Now, as it is obſerved in the courſe of naturall things, that one miſchief ſeldom marcheth alone, but uſhers in another, and hath alwaies its concomitants, ſo theſe North and Weſtern guſts, as one wave uſeth to drive on another, made all the winds in the compaſſe, both *collaterall* and *cardinall* to riſe up and rebell againſt *Eolus*, even under that very Clime, and in thoſe Horizons, where he kept his principall reſidence and royal Court. And this popular wind (for 'twas no other, take it all joyntly in one puff) did rage with that vehemency, that it turn'd every wher into fearful flames of fire (iſſuing out of a kind of *Ignis fatuus*, which by its repercuſſions, and furious arietations, did a world of miſchief, as if it had bin that incendiary *Preſter wind*, or rather an *Haraucana*, that *Indian* guſt, which alwaies brings the Devil along with it as thoſe Savages believe) had blown here, For, *ſurely God was not in this wind*. Yet ſom were ſo ſimple, to think that this wind proceeded from divine *inſpirations*; nay, they came to that height of prophaneneſs, as to father it upon the *Holy Ghoſt*, though nothing could be more different to his ſweet motions, nothing ſo directly oppoſit to his

England.

ſoft

ſoft gentle *breeſes* and *eventilations*; for no holy conſecrated thing could ſtand before this Diabolical wind, down went all Croſſes it met withall; it batter'd down Church and Chappel windowes (and I fear the walls and ſteeples will next to wrack.) It was ſo violent, that it overturn'd all ſtone Tables that ſtood Eaſt-ward; it blew away all the decent Veſts and Ornaments of the Church; the Biſhops Mitre (an Order contemporary with Chriſtianity it ſelf) did quake like an Aſpen leaf before it; nay, it ſhrewdly ſhook the very Imperial Scepter, and Crown which ſtood on *Eolus* his head, ſo that he was like to become *Ludibrium Ventorum*.

But the higheſt Deity of Heaven, *He who walketh upon the wings of the wind, and makes weight for them, and gathereth them in his fiſt when he pleaſeth*, hating ſuch an odious rebellion, rebuked theſe tumultuous winds, he cauſed a contagious aire, to ruſh in and mingle with them, and infect them with new diſeaſes; beſides whiſpers of jealouſies, doubts and diffidence blew and buzz'd more and more amongſt them, ſo that they could not truſt one another; inſomuch, that it made them to fall into confuſion amongſt themſelves, which is the common fate of all Re-

bellions. So *Eolus* recovered his Monarchy, and as they ſay, ther is no wind but blows ſom body good; ſo this turn'd much to the advantage of *Eolus*, for he grew ever after more firm and better eſtabliſh'd in his regall power, becauſe he put a competent guard in thoſe Climes whence all theſe boiſtrous winds burſt forth, and ſo ſecur'd himſelf ever after, that they could not blow where they liſted.

Popular Inſurrections being debell'd, turn to the advantage, and render the Ruling Prince more ſecure afterwards, or a broken bone being well ſet, growes ſtronger oftentimes: And ſo you have the Principal *Morall* of this *Parable* in brief.

POST-SCRIPT.

"SIr, I long to receive your opinion of "theſe rambling pieces of fancy, you may, "peradventure, have more, when the times "are open: ſurely the wind will not hold ſtil "in this unlucky hole, for it is too violent to "laſt: It begins (thanks be to God) to ſift "already, and amongſt thoſe multitudes, "who expect the change, I am one that ly-

"eth

"eth at the *Cape of good Hope*, though a long "time under hatches (in the *Fleet*.) How- "ſoever, though all the winds in the com- "paſs ſhold bluſter upon me; nay, though "a *Haraucana* ſhould rage, I am arm'd and "reſolv'd to bear the brunt, to welcome the "Will of God, and poſſeſſe my ſoul with "patience.

"If you deſire a further intimation of "things, I refer you to a Diſcourſe of mine "call'd *The Tru Informer*, who will give you "no vulgar ſatisfaction. *So I am*

Yours, as at firſt, inalterable.

F. H.

OF

The *LAND* of *IRE*:

OR,

A DISCOURS

OF THAT

HORRID INSURRECTION

AND

MASSACRES

Which happen'd lately

In IRELAND;

By *Mercurius Hibernicus* :

Who diſcovers unto the World the Tru Cauſers and Incendiaries therof.

In Vindication

Of His Majeſty, who is moſt maliciouſly Traduc'd to be Acceſſary therunto;

Which is as damnable a Lie as poſſibly could be hatched in Hell; which is the Staple of Lies.

A *Lie* ſtands upon one legg,——
Truth upon two.

[redacted]

Mercurius Hibernicus,

His Advertiſement to the well-temper'd READER.

THere is a mongrell race of *Mercuries* lately ſprung up, but I claim no *acquaintance* with them, much leſs any *Kindred.* They have commonly but one weeks time for their conception and birth; and then are they but like thoſe *Ephemeran* creatures, which *Pliny* ſpeaks of, that are born in the morning, grow up till noon, and periſh the ſame night: I hope to be longer liv'd then ſo, becauſe I was longer a getting, ther was more time and matter went to my Generation.

Ther is a Tale how the tru *Mercury* indeed, deſcended from Heven once in a diſguiſe, to ſee how he was eſteem'd on earth; and entring one day into a Pain-

Painters-ſhop, he found ther divers Pictures of *Apollo*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, with others; and ſpying his own hanging in a corner hard-by, he asked what the price of that Pourtrait might be? The Painter anſwered, that if he bought any of the reſt, he wold give him *that* into the bargain for nothing: *Mercury* hereupon ſhaking his white *Caducean*, flung out in indignation, and flew up to Heven. Shold *Mercury* chance to deſcend now from his ſphear, I think he wold be much more offended to find himſelf perſonated by every petty impertinent Pamphleter; yet I believe he would not think it ill that *Aulicus* aſſumes his ſhape, nor that the *Harp*, who owes her firſt invention to *him*, ſhould be made now his creſt.

To my honourable Friend Mr. *E. P.*

SIR,

IF You pleaſe to caſt your eyes upon the following Diſcours, I believe it will afford you ſom ſatisfaction, and enlighten you more in the Iriſh affaires. The allegeance I owe to Truth, was the Midwife that brought it forth, and I make bold to make choice of you for my Goſſip, becauſe I am

From the priſon of the Fleet 3. *Nonas Aprilis* 1643.

Your true ſervant,

F. H.

Mercurius Hibernicus.

THere is not any thing ſince theſe ugly warrs begun, whereof there hath been more advantage made to traduce and blemiſh His Majeſties actions, or to alienate and imbitter the affections of his people towards Him, to incite them to armes, and enharden them in the quarrell, than of the *Iriſh* affaires; whether one caſt his eyes upon the beginning and proceedure of that warre (which ſome by a moſt monſtrous impudence would patronize upon their Majeſties) or upon the late *Ceſſation*, and the tranſport of Auxiliaries ſince from thence. There are ſome that in broken peeces have written of all three: but not in one entire diſcourſe, as this is, nor hath any hitherto hit upon thoſe reaſons and inferences that ſhall be diſplayed herein.

But he who adventures to judge of affaires

faires of State, ſpecially of traverſes of warre, as of Pacifications, of Truces, Suſpenſions of Armes, Parlies, and ſuch like, muſt well obſerve the quality of the times, the ſucceſſe and circumſtance of matters paſt, the poſture and preſſure of things preſent (and upon the *Place*) the inducement or *enforcement* of cauſes, the gaining of time, the neceſſity of preventing greater miſchiefes (whereunto true policy *Prometheus* like hath alwaies an eye) with other advantages. The late *ceſſation* of Armes in *Ireland* was an affaire of this nature; a true Act of State, and of as high a conſequence as could be: Which Ceſſation is now become the *Common Subject* of every mans diſcourſe, or rather the diſcourſe of every *common Subject* all the three Kingdomes over: And not onely the ſubject of their diſcourſe, but of their *cenſure* alſo; nor of their cenſure onely, but of their reproach and obloquy. For the World is come now to that paſſe, that the Foot muſt judge the Head, the very *Cobler* muſt pry into the Cabinet Counſels of his *King*; nay the *Diſtaffe* is ready ever and anon to arraign the *Scepter*; Spinſtreſſes are become Stateswomen, and every peaſan turned politician;

ſuch

ſuch a fond irregular humour reignes gene-
rally of late yeers amongſt the Engliſh Na-
tion.

Now the Deſigne of this ſmall diſcourſe, though the Subject require a farre greater volume, is, to vindicate His Majeſties moſt pious intentions in condeſcending to this late ſuſpenſion of Arms in His Kingdome of *Ireland*, and to make it appeare to any rationall ingenious capacity, (not pre-occupied or purblinded with paſſion) that there was more of honour and neceſſity, more of prudence and piety in the ſaid Ceſſation, than there was either in the *Pacification* or *Peace* that was made with the Scot.

But to proceed herein the more methodically, I will lay downe, firſt,

The reall and true radicall cauſes of the late two-yeers Iriſh *Inſurrection*.

Secondly, the courſe His Majeſty uſed to ſuppreſſe it.

Laſtly, thoſe indiſpenſable impulſive reaſons and invincible neceſſity which enforced His Majeſty to condeſcend to a Ceſſation.

Touching the grounds of the ſaid Inſurrection, we may remember when His Majeſty

jesty out of a pious designe (as His *late Majesty* also had) to settle an Uniformitie of serving God in all his three Kingdomes, sent our Liturgie to his Subjects of *Scotland*; some of that Nation made such an advantage hereof, that though it was a thing only *recommended*, not *commanded* or pressed upon them, and so cald in suddenly againe by a most gracious Proclamation, accompanied with a generall pardon: Yet they would not rest there, but they would take the opportunity hereby to demolish Bishops, and the whole Hierarchy of the Church (which was no grievance at all till then) To which end, they put themselves in actuall Armes, and obtained at last what they listed; which they had not dared to have done, had they not been sure to have as good friends in *England* as they had in *Scotland* (as *Lesly* himself confessed to Sir *William Berkley* at *Newcastle*) for some of the chiefest Inconformists here, had not onely intelligence with them, but had been of their Cabinet-counsels in moulding the Plot: though some would cast this war upon the French Cardinall, to vindicate the invasion we made upon his Masters dominions in the Isle of Rets; as also for some advantage

vantage the Engliſh uſe to do the Spaniard in tranſporting his Treaſure to Dunkerk, with other offices. Others wold caſt it upon the *Jeſuit*, that he ſhold project it firſt, to force His Majeſty to have recourſe to his Roman Catholick Subjects for aid, that ſo they might, by ſuch *Supererogatory* ſervice ingratiate themſelves the more into his favour.

The *Iriſh* hearing how well their next Neighbours had ſped by way of Arms, it filled them full of thoughts and apprehenſions of fear and jealouſie, that the *Scot* wold prove more powerful hereby, and conſequently more able to do them hurt, and to attempt waies to reſtrain them of that connivency, which they were allowed in point of Religion: Now ther is no Nation upon earth that the Iriſh hate in that perfection, and with a greater Antipathy, than the Scot, or from whom they conceive greater danger: For wheras they have an old propheſie amongſt them, which one ſhall hear up and down in every mouth, *That the day will come when the Iriſh ſhall weep upon Engliſh mens graves*: They fear that this propheſie will be verified and fulfilled in the Scot above any other Nation.

Moreover, the *Iriſh* entred into conſideration, that They alſo had ſundry grievances and grounds of complaint, both touching their eſtates and conſciences, which they pretended to be far greater than thoſe of the *Scots*. For they fell to think, that if the Scot was ſuffered to introduce a *new* Religion, it was reaſon they ſhold not be ſo pinched in the exerciſe of their *old*, which they glory never to have altered. And for temporall matters (wherin the *Scot* had no grievance at all to ſpeak of) the new plantations which had bin lately afoot, to be made in *Conaught* and other places; the concealed lands and defective titles which were daily found out; the new cuſtoms which were impoſed, and the incapacity they had to any preferment or Office in Church and State (with other things) they conceived theſe to be grievances of a far greater nature, and that deſerved redreſſe much more than any the *Scot* had. To this end, they ſent over Commiſſioners to attend this Parliament in *England*, with certain Propoſitions, but thoſe Commiſſioners were diſmiſſed hence with a ſhort and unſavoury anſwer, which bred worſe bloud in the Nation than was formerly gathered; and this, with

with that leading caſe of the *Scot*, may be ſaid to be the firſt incitements that made them riſe.

In the courſe of humane actions, we daily find it to be a tru rule, *Exempla movent*, *Examples move*, and make ſtrong impreſſions upon the fancy; *precepts* are not ſo powerful as *precedents*. The ſaid example of *Scotland*, wrought wonderfully upon the imagination of the Iriſh, and filled them (as I touched before) with thoughts of emulation, that They deſerved altogether to have as good uſage as the *Scot*, their Country being far more beneficial, and conſequenly, more importing the Engliſh Nation. But theſe were but confuſed imperfect notions, which began to receive more vigour and form after the death of the Earl of *Strafford*, who kept them under ſo exact an obedience, though ſom cenſure him to have ſcrewed up the ſtrings of the *Harp* too high; inſomuch that the taking off of the Earl of *Straffords* head, may be ſaid to be the ſecond incitement to the *heads* of that inſurrection to ſtir.

Adde hereunto, that the Iriſh underſtanding with what acrimony the Roman Catholicks in *England* were proceeded a-

gainſt ſince the ſitting of our Parliament, and what further deſignes were afoot againſt them, and not onely againſt them, but for ranverſing the Proteſtant Religion it ſelf, as it is now practiſed (which ſom ſhallow-braind Schiſmaticks do throw into the ſame ſcales with Popery.) They thought it was high time for them to forecaſt what ſhold become of Them, and how they ſhold be handled in point of conſcience, when a new Deputy of the Parliaments election (*approbation* at leaſt) ſhold come over. Therfore they fell to conſult of ſom means of timely prevention: And this was another motive (and it was a ſhrewd one) which puſht on the *Iriſh* to take up Arms.

Laſtly, that Army of 8000. men, which the Earl of *Strafford* had raiſed to be tranſported to *England* for ſuppreſſing the Scot, being by the advice of our Parliament here, disbanded; the Country was annoyed by ſom of thoſe ſtragling Souldiers, as not one in twenty of the Iriſh, will from the ſword to the ſpade, or from the Pike to the plough again. Therfore the two Marqueſſes that were Ambaſſadors here then for *Spaine*, having propounded to have ſom numbers of thoſe disbanded forces, for the ſervice of their

their Maſter; His Majeſty by the mature advice of his privy Counſell, to occur the miſchiefs that might ariſe to his Kingdom of *Ireland* by thoſe looſe caſheer'd Souldiers, yielded to the Ambaſſadors motion, who ſent notice hereof to *Spain* accordingly, and ſo provided ſhipping for their tranſport, and impreſſed money to advance the buſineſs; but as they were in the heat of that work, His Majeſty being then in *Scotland*, there was a ſudden ſtop made of thoſe promiſed troops, who had depended long upon the Spaniards ſervice, as the Spaniard had done on theirs. And this was the laſt, though not the leaſt fatal cauſe of that horrid inſurrection: All which particulars well conſidered, it had bin no hard matter to have bin a Prophet, and ſtanding upon the top of *Holy-Head*, to have foreſeen thoſe black clouds engendering in the Iriſh aire, which broke out afterwards into ſuch fearful tempeſts of bloud.

Out of theſe premiſes, it is eaſie for any common underſtanding, not tranſported with paſſion and private intereſt, to draw this concluſion. That They who complyed with the Scot in his inſurrection; They who diſmiſſed the Iriſh Commiſſioners with ſuch

a ſhort *unpolitick* anſwer, They who took off the Earl of *Straffords* head, and delayed afterwards the diſpatching of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, They who hindered thoſe disbanded troops in *Ireland* to go for *Spain*, may be juſtly ſaid to have bin the tru cauſes of the late inſurrection of the Iriſh; and conſequently, it is eaſie to know upon the account of whoſe ſouls muſt be laid the bloud of thoſe hundred and odde thouſands poor Chriſtians, who periſhed in that war; ſo that had it bin poſſible to have brought over their bodies unputrified to *England*, and to have caſt them at the doores, and in the preſence of ſom men I believe they wold have guſhed out afreſh into bloud, for diſcovery of the tru murtherers.

The grounds of this inſurrection being thus diſcovered, let us examine what means His Majeſty uſed for the ſuppreſſion of it. He made his addreſſes preſently to his great Counſel, the Engliſh Parliament then aſſembled, which Queen *Elizabeth* and her progenitors did ſeldom uſe to do, but only to their Privy Counſel in ſuch caſes, who had the diſcuſsing and tranſacting of all foreign affaires; for in mannaging matters of State, ſpecially thoſe of war, which muſt be carryed

ryed with all the ſecrecy that may be, *Trop grand nombre, eſt encombre*, as the Frenchman ſaith, too great a number of Counſellours may be an incumber, and expoſe their reſults and reſolutions to diſcovery and other diſadvantages, wheras in military proceedings the work ſhold be afoot before the Counſels be blazed abroad. Well, His Majeſty tranſmitted this buſineſs to the Parliament of *England*, who totally undertaking it, and wedding as it were the quarlel (as I remember they did that of the *Palatinate* a little before by ſolemn vote; the like was done by the Parliament of *Scotland* alſo, by a publick joynt Declaration, which in regard ther came nothing of it, tended little to the honour of either Nation abroad) His Majeſty gave his royal aſſent to any Propoſitions or acts for raiſing of men, money and arms to perform the work. But hereby no man is ſo ſimple as to think His Majeſty ſhold abſolutely give over his own perſonal care and protection of that his Kingdom, it being a Rule, *That a King can no more deſert the protection of his own people, then they their ſubjection to him.* In all his Declarations ther was nothing that he endear'd and inculcated more often, and with

greater aggravation and earneſtneſs unto them, then the care of his poor Subjects their fellow-Proteſtants in *Ireland*: Nay, he reſented their condition ſo far, and took the buſineſs ſo to heart, that he offered to paſſe over in perſon for their relief: And who can deny but this was a magnanimous and King-like reſolution? Which the *Scots* by publick act of Counſel, did highly approve of, and declared it to be an argument of care and courage in his Majeſty. And queſtionleſs it had done infinite good in the opinion of them that have felt the pulſe of the Iriſh people, who are daily ore-heard to groan, how they have bin any time theſe 400. years under the Engliſh Crown, and yet never ſaw but two of their Kings all the while upon *Iriſh* ground, though ther be but a *ſalt ditch* of a few hours ſail to paſs over. And much more welcom ſhold His Majeſty, now regnant, be amongſt them, who by general *tradition, They* confeſs and hold to come on the paternal ſide from *Fergus* (by legal and lineal deſcent) who was an Iriſh Prince, and after King of *Scotland*, wheras the title of all our former Kings and Queens was ſtumbled at alwaies by the vulgar. His Majeſty finding that this royall proffer of engaging his own perſon, was re-

jected

jected with a kind of ſcorn, coucht in ſmooth language, though the main buſineſſe concerned himſelf neareſt, and indeed ſolely himſelf, that Kingdom being his own hereditary Right. Underſtanding alſo, what baſe ſiniſter uſe ther was made of this inſurrection by ſom trayterous malevolent perſons, who, to caſt aſperſions upon His Majeſty, and to poyſon the hearts of his people, beſides publick infamous reports, counterfeited certain Commiſſions in His Majeſties name to authorize the buſineſſe, as if he were privy to it, though I dare pawn my ſoul His (or *Her*) Majeſty knew no more of it then the great *Mogor* did. Finding alſo that the Commiſſioners imployed hence for the managing and compoſing matters in that Kingdom, though nominated by the Parliament, and by their recommendation authorized by His Majeſty, did not obſerve their inſtructions, and yet were conniv'd at. Underſtanding alſo, what an inhumane deſign ther was between them and the Scot, in lieu of ſuppreſſing an inſurrection to eradicat and extinguiſh a whole nation to make booty of their lands (which hopes the *London* Adventurers did hugge, and began to divide the Bears-skin before he was taken, as His Majeſty

jeſty told them) an attempt the *Spaniard* nor any other Chriſtian State ever intended againſt the worſt of Savages; The conceit wherof intuſed ſuch a deſperate courage, eagerneſs and valour into the *Iriſh*, that it made them turn *neceſsity* into a kind of *vertu*.

Moreover, His Majeſty taking notice that thoſe royal Subſidies, with other vaſt contributions wherunto he had given way, with the ſums of particular Adventurers (amongſt whom ſom Aliens (*Hollanders*) were taken in, beſides the Scot to ſhare the Country) were miſapplyed, being viſibly imployed, rather to feed an Engliſh Rebellion, then to ſuppreſs an *Iriſh*: Nay, underſtanding that thoſe charitable collections which were made for the reliefe of thoſe diſtreſſed Proteſtants, who being ſtripped of all their livelihood in *Ireland*, were forced to fly over to *England*, were converted to other uſes, and the Charity not diſpenſed according to the Givers intention. Hearing alſo that thoſe 5000. men which had been levyed and aſſigned to goe under the Lord *Wharton*, the Lord of *Kerry*, Sir *Faithfull Forteſcue* and others were diverted from going to the weſt of *Ireland*, and imployed to make up the Earl of *Eſſex* Army: And having notice beſides

ſides that the Earl of *Warwicke* had ſtayd certaine ſhips going thither with ſupplies, and that there was an attempt to ſend for over to *England* ſome of thoſe Scottiſh Forces which were in *Ulſter*, without his privity. Laſtly, His Majeſty finding *himſelf* unfitted, and indeed diſabled to reach thoſe his diſtreſſed Subjects, his owne royal *armie* all his navall ſtrength, revenues and magazines being out of his *hands*; and having as hard a game to play ſtill with the *Scot*, and as pernicious a fire to quench in *England*, as any of his Progenitors ever had: Receiving intelligence alſo daily from his Proteſtant Nobility and Gentry thence, in what a deſperate caſe the whole Kingdome ſtood, together with the report of the Committee that attended His Majeſty from them expreſly for that ſervice, who amongſt other deplorable paſſages in their petition, repreſented, *That all means by which comfort and life ſhould be conveyed unto that gaſping Kingdome, ſeemed to be totally obſtructed, and that unleſſe timely reliefe were afforded, His loyall Subjects there muſt yeeld their fortunes for a prey, their lives for a ſacrifice, and their Religion for a ſcorne to the mercileſſe Rebels.*

His Majeſty (as it was high time for him) taking

taking into his Princely thoughts thoſe wofull complainrs and cryes of his poore Subjects, condeſcended at laſt to appoint ſome perſons of honour to heare what the Iriſh could ſay for themſelves, as they had often petitioned; and God forbid but the King of *Ireland* ſhould receive his Subjects petitions, as well as the King of *Scotland*. But His Majeſty being unſatisfied with what they propounded then, the Lord Marqueſs of *Ormond* marched with conſiderable Forces againſt them, and though he came off with honour, yet no reliefe at all comming thither for many moneths after from the Parliament here, who had undertaken the buſineſſe, and had received all the ſummes and ſubſidies, with other unknown contributions to that end, matters grew daily worſe and worſe. To ſum up all, His Majeſty receiving expreſs and poſitive advice from his Lord Juſtices and Counſell of State ther, that the whole Kingdom was upon point of utter perdition, which was cointimated the ſame time to the Parliament here, by a ſpecial letter to the *Speaker*; I ſay His Majeſty finding that he had neither power of himſelf, it being tranſmitted to others; and that thoſe Truſtees did miſapply that power

power and truſt he had inveſted in them (for the time) to make good their undertaking for preſervation of that his fruitfull Kingdome; being impelled by all theſe forcible reaſons, His Majeſty ſent a commiſſion to the Lord Marqueſſe of *Ormond* his Lievtenant Generall (a moſt known ſincere Proteſtant) to hearken to a *treaty* according to their petition; and if any thing was amiſſe in that *treaty* in poynt of honour (as it ſhall appeare by comparing it with others, there was none) we know *whom* to thank. For out of theſe premiſes alſo, doth reſult this ſecond concluſion, That they who *miſapplied thoſe moneys, and miſ-imployed thoſe men* which were levyed with His Majeſties royall aſſent for the reduction of *Ireland:* They who ſet afoot that moſt ſanguinary deſign of extirpating, at leaſt of *enſlaving* a whole ancient Nation, who were planted there by the hand of Providence from the beginning: They who hindred His Majeſties *transfretation* thither to take cognizance of his own affairs, and expoſe the countenance of his own royall perſon for compoſing of things: They, They may be ſaid to be the true cauſes of that unavoydable neceſſity (and as the heathen Poet ſings, *The Gods, themſelvs cannot reſiſt Neceſſity*)

Neceſſity) which enforced His Majeſty to capitulat with the Iriſh, and aſſent to a *Ceſſation.*

It was the ſaying of one of the braveſt Roman Emperours, and it was often uſed by *Henry* the *Great* of *France*, Her Majeſties Father, *That he had rather ſave the life of one loyall Subject then kill a hundred Enemies*: It may well be thought that one of the prevalentſt inducements that moved His Majeſty (beſides thoſe formerly mentioned) to condeſcend to this Iriſh Ceſſation, was a ſenſe he had of the effuſion of his own poor Subjects blood, the hazard of the utter extirpation of the Proteſtants there, and a totall irrecoverable loſſe of that Kingdome, as was advertiſed both in the petition of the Proteſtants themſelves, the relation of the Committee imployd thither to that purpoſe, and the expreſſe letters of the Lords Juſtices and Counſell there.

To prove now, that this Ceſſation of arms in *Ireland* was more honourable and fuller of Piety, Prudence and Neceſſity, then either the Pacification or Peace with the *Scot*. I hope, theſe few enſuing arguments (above divers others which cannot be inſerted here, in regard of the force intended

ded brevity of this Diſcourſe) will ſerve the turne.

1. *In primis*, When the *Pacification* was made with *Scotland* His Majeſty was there perſonally preſent, attended on by the floure of His Engliſh Nobility, Gentry and Servants, and the enemy was hard by ready to face Him. At the concluding of the Iriſh Ceſſation, His Majeſty was not there perſonally preſent, but it was agitated and agreed on by his *Commiſſioner*, and it hath been held alwaies leſs diſhonourable for a King to capitulare in this kind with his own Subjects by his Deputy, then in his own perſon, for the further off he is, the leſſe reflects upon him.

2. Upon the Pacification and Peace with Scotland, there was an Amneſtia, a generall pardon, and an abolition of all by-paſſed offences publiſhed, there were honours and offices conferred upon the chiefeſt ſticklers in the War. At the Ceſſation in *Ireland* there was no ſuch thing.

3. When the Pacification and Peace was made with the *Scots*, there was mony given unto *Them*, as it is too well knowne. But upon the ſetling of this *Ceſſation*, the Iriſh received none but *gave* His Majeſty a conſiderable

ſiderable ſumme as an argument of their ſubmiſſion and gratitude, beſides the maintainance of ſome of his Garriſons in the interim ; and ſo much partly in point of honour.

4. At the concluding of the Pacification and Peace with *Scotland*, there was a vigorous, freſh, unfoiled Engliſh Army a foot, and in perfect equipage; there wanted neither Ammunition, Armes, Money, Cloaths, Victuals or any thing that might put heart into the Souldier and elevat his ſpirits. But the Proteſtant Army in *Ireland* had not any of all theſe in any competent proportion, but were ready to periſh, though there had been no other enemy then hunger and cold: And this implies a farre greater neceſſity for the ſaid Ceſſation.

5. In *Ireland* there was imminent danger of an inſtant loſſe of the whole Kingdome, and conſequently, the utter ſubverſion of the Proteſtant Religion there, as was certified both to King and Parliament by ſundry letters and petitions which ſtand upon record: There was no ſuch danger in the affairs of *Scotland*, either in reſpect of Religion or Kingdome ; therefore there was more piety ſhown in preſerving the one, and pru-

prudence in preserving the other in *Ireland*, by plucking both (as it were) out of the very jawes of destruction by the said Cessation.

We know that *in the Medley of mundane casualties, of two evils, the least is to be chosen*, and a small inconvenience is to be born withall, to prevent a greater.

If one make research into the French Story, he will find, that many kinds of Pacifications and Suspensions of Armes were covenanted 'twixt that King and som of his Subjects, trenching far more upon regall dignity then this in *Ireland*. The Spaniard was forced to declare the Hollanders *Free-states*, before they could be brought to treat of a truce: And now the *Catalans* scrue him up almost to as high conditions. But what need I rove abroad so far? It is well known, nor is it out of the memory of man (in Queen *Elizabeths* raign) that in *Ireland* it self ther have bin Cessations, all circumstances well weighed, more prejudiciall to Majesty then this.

But that which I hear murmured at most as the effect of this Cessation, is the transport of som of those Souldiers to *England* for recruting His Majesties Armies, notwithstand-

ing that the greateſt number of them be perfect and rigid Proteſtants, and were thoſe whom our Parliament it ſelf imployed againſt the Iriſh. But put caſe they were all *Papiſts*, muſt His Majeſty therfore be held a Favourer of Popery? The late King of *France* might have bin ſaid as well to have bin a Favourer of *Hugonotts*, becauſe in all his wars he imployed Them moſt of any in places of greateſt truſt againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*; wheras all the World knows, that he perfectly hated them in the generall, and one of the reaches of policy he had, was to ſpend and waſte them in the wars. Was it ever known but a Soveraign Prince might uſe the bodies and ſtrength of his own naturall-born Subjects, and Liege men for his own defence? When His perſon hath been fought and aimed at in open field by ſmall and great ſhot, and all other Engines of hoſtility and violence: When he is in danger to be ſurprized or beſieg'd in that place wher he keeps his Court: When all the flowers of his Crown (his royal prerogatives which are deſcended upon him from ſo many ſucceſſive progenitors) are like to be plucked off and trampled under foot: When ther is a viſible plot to alter and overturn that Religion

ligion he was born, baptized, and bred in: When he is in danger to be forced to infringe that ſolemn Sacramental Oath he took at his Coronation to maintain the ſaid Religion, with the Rights and Rites of the holy Anglican *Church*, which ſom brain-ſick Schiſmaticks wold transform to a *Kirk* and her Diſcipline, to ſom chimerical form of government they know not what. *Francis* the firſt and other Chriſtian Princes, made uſe of the *Turk* upon leſſe occaſions; and if one may make uſe of a Horſe, or any other bruit animal, or any inanimat Engine or Inſtrument for his own defence againſt man, much more may man be uſed againſt man, much more may one rational Creature be uſed againſt another though for deſtructive ends in a good cauſe, ſpecially when they are commanded by a Soveraign head, which is the main thing that goes to juſtifie a war. Now touching the Roman Catholicks, whether *Engliſh*, *Welſh*, *Iriſh*, or *Scottiſh*, which repaire to his Majeſties Armies either for ſervice or ſecurity. He looks not upon them as Papiſts, but as his Subjects, not upon their Religion, but their allegiance, and in that quality he entertains them: Nor can the Papiſt be denyed the Character of a *good Sub-*

ject, all the while he conforms himself to the Lawes in generall, and to those lawes also that are particularly enacted against him, and so keeps himself within the bounds of his civil obedience: As long as he continues so, he may challenge protection from his Prince by way of right, and if his Prince by som accident be not in case to protect him, he is to give him leave to defend himself the best he can, for the law of nature allowes every one to defend himself, and ther is no positive law of man can annul the law of nature. Now if the *Subject* may thus claim protection from his *Prince*, it followeth, the *Prince* by way of reciprocation may require assistance, service and supplies from the *Subject* upon all publick occasions, as to suppress at this time a new race of *Recusants*, which have done more hurt then ever the *old* did, and are like to prove more dangerous to his Crown and regal Authority then any foreign enemy.

But whosoever will truly observe the genius, and trace the actions of this fatal Faction which now swayes with that boundless, exorbitant, arbitrary and Antinomian power, will find, that it is one of their prime pieces of policy, to traduce and falsifie any thing that

is

is not conducible to their own ends: Yet what comes from them muſt be ſo magiſterial, it muſt be ſo unqueſtionably and incontroulably tru & lawful, that it muſt be believed by an implicite faith, as proceeding from an in-erring Oracle (as if theſe Zealots were above the common condition of mankind, to whom errour is as hereditary as any other infirmity) though the thing it ſelf encroach never ſo groſly both upon the common liberty, the ſtates and ſouls of men. But if any thing bear the ſtamp of royal Authority, be it never ſo juſt and tending to peace and the publick good, yea, though it be indifferent to either ſide, it is preſently countermanded, cryed down, and ſtifled; or it is calumniated and aſperſed with obloquies, falſe gloſſes and miſpriſions; and this is become now the common Theam wherwith their Pulpits ring.

Which makes me think, that theſe upſtart politicians have not long to reign; for, as the common Proverb ſaith, *Fraud and Froſt end foul, and are ſhort-lived*, ſo that policy, thoſe Counſels which are grounded upon ſcandals, reproaches and lies, will quickly moulder and totter away, and bring their Authors at laſt to deſerved infamy and ſhame, and make

them find a Tomb in their own ruines. Adde hereunto as further badges of their nature, that black irreconcilable malice and desire of revenge which rageth in them, the averſneſs they have to any ſweetneſs of Conformity and Union, the violent thirſt they have of bloud, which makes me think on that diſtique of *Prudentius*, who ſeemed to be a *Prophet* as well as *Poet* (a tru *Vates*) in diſplaying the humors of theſe fiery Dogmatiſts, this all-confounding faction which now hath the vogue, to the *puniſhment*, I will not ſay yet, the *perdition* of this poor Iſland.

Sic mores produnt animum, & mihi credite, junctus
Semper cum falſo eſt dogmate Cœdis *amor*.

Thus in Engliſh.

Manners betray the mind, and credit me,
Ther's alwayes thirſt of bloud with Hereſie.

THE SWAY OF THE SWORD;

OR

A DISCOURS OF THE *MILITIA* Train'd-Bands,

OR

COMMON SOLDIERY OF THE LAND;

PROVING,

That the Power and Command therof in chief belongs to the *Ruling Prince*, and to no other.

Sine Gladio nulla Defensio.

The *Author's* Apology.

IT is confeſs'd that the ſubject of this Diſcours were more proper to One of the *long-Robe*, which I am not, I am no Lawyer otherwiſe then what nature hath made me, ſo every man, as he is born the child of *Reaſon*, is a Lawyer, and a *Logitian* alſo who was the firſt kind of Lawyer: This diſcourſive *faculty* of Reaſon comes with us into the world accompanied with certain general notions and principles to diſtinguiſh Right from Wrong, and Falſhood from Truth: But touching this following *Diſcourſe*, becauſe it relates ſomthing to *Law*, the Author wold not have adventured

tured to have exposed it to the world, if, besides those common innate *notions* of Reason, and some private *Notes* of his own, he had not inform'd and ascertain'd his judgment by conference with som professed Lawyers, and those the Eminentest in the Land, touching the truth of what it Treats of; therfore he dares humbly aver that it contains nothing but what is consonant to the fundamentall and fixed Constitutions, to the known clear Lawes of this Kingdom.

From the prison of the Fleet 3. *Nonas Maii* 1645.

J. H.

Touching the

POLEMICAL SVVORD,

And command in chief of

The *MILITIA*, &c.

GOVERNMENT is an Ordinance of God for Mans *good*; the *kinds* of *Government* are ordinances of men for Gods *Glory*: Now, among all Worldly affairs there is not any thing ſo difficult, and fuller of incertitudes as the *Art of Ruling man*, For thoſe nimble ſpirits (as it is ſpoken elſwhere) who from *Apprentices* have been made *Freemen* of the Trade, and at laſt thought themſelves *Maſters*, having ſpent their Youth, their Manhood, and a long time of old age therein, yet when they came to leave the World they profeſſed themſelves ſtill to be but Novices in the Trade.

Trade. There is a known way to break, guide, and keep in awe all other Animals, though never ſo ſavage and ſtrong; but there is no ſuch certaine way to govern multitudes of men, in regard of ſuch turbulences of ſpirit and diverſity of opinions that proceed from the *Rational* Faculty, which other cretures that are contented only with *ſenſe*, are not ſubject unto; and this the Philoſopher holds to be one of the inconveniences that attend humane reaſon, and why it is given man as a part of his puniſhment.

Now, why the Government over men is ſo difficult, there may be two main reaſons alledg'd, The firſt is the various events, and World of inexpected contingencies that attend humane negotiations, ſpecially matters of State, which, as all other ſublunary things, are ſubject to alterations, miſcarriages, and change, this makes the mindes of men, and conſequently the moulds of policy ſo often to alter, ſcarce one amongſt twenty is the ſame man as he was twenty yeares ago in point of judgement, which turns and changeth according to the ſucceſſe and circumſtances of things, The wiſedome of one day is the fooliſhneſſe of another,

Poſterior

Posterior Dies est prioris Magister, the Day following becomes the former dayes Teacher.

The Second Reason is, the discrepant, and wavering fancies of mens braines, specially of the common peeple, who (if not restrained) are subject to so many crotchets and chymeras, with extravagant wanton desires, and gaping after innovations. *Insulary* peeple are observed to be more transported with this instability then those of the *Continent*, and the Inhabitants of this Ile more then others, being a well-fed spriteful peeple; In so much, that it is grown a Proverb abroad, that *The Englishman doth not know when he is well*: Now the true Polititian doth use to fit his Government to the fancy of the peeple, the ruler must do as the rider, some peeple are to be rid with strong bitts and curbs, and martingalls, as the *Napollitan*, and *French* our next neighbour, which is the cause that a kind of *slavery* is entail'd upon him, for the *French Peasant is born with chains*; Other Nations may be rid with a gentle small bridle, as the *Venetian* and the *Hollander*, who hath not such boiling spirits as others; A bridle doth serve also the *Spaniard*, who is the greteſt example of stability, and exact obedience

to

to authority, of any peeple; for though *Spain* be the hotteſt Countrey in Chriſtendom, yet it is not ſo ſubject to Feavers as others are, I mean to fits of inteſtin commotions: And this was never ſo much tryed as of late yeers; for though the preſent King hath ſuch known frailties, though he hath bin ſo infortunat, as to have many Countreys quite revolted, and rent away from him; though the ragingſt Plague that ever was in Spain under any King, happen'd of late yeers, which ſweep'd away ſuch a world of peeple; though his Taxes be higher then ever were any, though he hath call'd in and engroſſed all the common coyn of the Countrey, and delivered but the one halfe back again, reſerving the other half for Himſelf; though there's no legall Inſtrument, no Bond, Bill, or Specialty can be writ but upon his *ſeal'd paper*, with ſundry other exactions, yet his ſubjects are ſtill as obedient, and awful unto him, they are as conformable and quiet, as if he were the moſt vertuous, and victorious Prince that ever was; and this they do principally for their own advantage, for if ther were another Governour ſet up, it would inevitably hurle the whole Countrey into combuſtion

ſtion and tumults; beſides, they are taught, that as in choice of Wives, ſo the Rule holds in Governments, *Seldome comes a better.*

Touching the Originals of Government and ruling power, queſtionleſs the firſt among Mankind was that Naturall power of the Father over his Children, and that Deſpotical domeſtique ſurintendence of a Maſter of a houſe over his Family; But the World multiplying to ſuch a Maſſe of peeple, they found that a confuſed equality, and a looſe unbridled way of living like brute animals to be ſo inconvenient, that they choſe one perſon to protect and govern; not ſo much out of love to the perſon, as for their own conveniency and advantage, that they might live more regularly, and be ſecur'd from rapine, and oppreſſion; As alſo that juſtice might be adminiſtted; and every one enjoy his own without fear, and danger: ſuch Governours had a power inveſted accordingly in them, alſo as to appoint ſubſervient, able Miniſters under them to help to bear the burden.

Concerning the kinds of Government, all Polititians agree that *Monarchall* is the beſt

beſt and nobleſt ſort of ſway, having the neereſt analogy with that of Heaven, *viz.* A ſupreme power in one ſingle perſon; God Almighty is the God of *Unity*, as well as of *Entity*, and all things that have an Entity do naturally propend to *Unity*; *Unity* is as neceſſary for a well-*being*, as *Entity* is for a *Being*, for nothing conduceth more to order, tranquillity, and quietude, nor is any ſtrength ſo operative as the *united*; The fiſt is *ſtronger then the hand, though it be nothing but the hand, viz.* The fingers united by contraction; The Republick of Venice which is accounted the moſt Eagle-ey'd and laſtingſt State in the World, for ſhe hath continued a pure Virgin, and ſhin'd within her watry Orb nere upon thirteen Ages, is the fitteſt to give the World advice herein, for if ever any have brought *policy* to be a *Scientè* which conſiſts of certitudes, this *State* is Shee, who is grown as dexterous in ruling men as in rowing of Gally. But whereas the vulgar opinion is that the common peeple there have a ſhare in the Government, 'tis nothing ſo, for the Great Counſel which is the maine hinge whereon the Republick turns, is compoſed onely of Gentlemen who are capable by the

their birth to sit there, having passed twenty five years of age; To which purpose they must bring a publick Testimonial that they are descended of a Patrician or noble Family. But to return to the main matter, this sage Republick who may prescribe rules of Policy to all Mankind, having tryed at first to Govern by Consuls and Tribunes for som years, she found it at last a great inconvenience, or *deformity* rather, to have two heads upon one body; Therefore She did set up one *Soveraign Prince*; and in the Records of *Venice* the resons are yet extant which induc'd her thereunto, whereof one of the remarkablest was this; *We have observed that in this vast University of the World all Bodies according to their several Natures have multiplicity of Motions, yet they receive vertue and vigour but from one, which is the Sun; All causes derive their Originals from one supreme cause; we see that in one Creture there are many differing Members, and Faculties which have various functions, yet they are all guided by one soul*, &c.

The Island of Great *Britain* hath bin alwaies a Royal Isle from her first creation, and Infancy; She may be said to have worn a Crown in her Cradle; and though She had

ſo many revolutions, and changes of Maſters, yet She continued ſtill Royal; nor is there any ſpecies of Government that ſuits better, either with the quality of the Countrey, and Genius of the Inhabitants, or relates more directly to all the ancient Lawes, Conſtitutions, and Cuſtoms of the Land, then *Monarchal*; which any one that is converſant in the Old Records can juſtifie; *Britannia ab initio mundi ſemper Regia, & regimen illius ſimile illi cælorum.*

Concerning the many ſorts of Truſts which were put in the Supreme Governor of this Land (for ther muſt be an implicite and unavoidable neceſſary Truſt repoſed in every Soveraign Magiſtrate) the power of the *Sword* was the chiefeſt; and it was agreeable to Holy Scripture he ſhold have it, where we know 'tis ſaid, *The King beareth not the Sword in vain*; The Lawes of *England* did ever allow it to be the inalienable prerogative of the Soveraign Prince, nor was it ever known (humbly under favour) that any other power whatſoever managing conjunctly or ſingly, did ever pretend to the power of the publick Sword, or have the *Militia* inveſted in them, but this ever remained intire and untransferrible in the perſon of the Ruler in chief,

chief, whoſe chiefeſt inſtrument to govern by is the Sword, without which Crownes, Scepters, Globes and Maces are but bables. It is that Inſtrument which cauſeth tru obedience, makes him a Dread Soveraign, and to be feared at home and abroad; Now 'tis a Maxime in policy, that ther can be no tru obedience without *Fear*; The Crown and Scepter draw only a looſe kind of voluntary love, and opinion from the people, but 'tis the ſword that draws Reverence and awe, which two are the chiefeſt ingredients of Allegeance, it being a principle, that the beſt Government is made of *Fear* and *Love*, viz. when by *Fear* Love is drawn as threed through the eye of a Needle; The ſureſt Obedience, and Loyalty is cauſed thus, for *Fear* being the wakefulleſt of our paſſions works more powerfully in us and predominates over all the reſt; *primus in orbe Deus fecit* Timor. To raiſe up a Soveraign Magiſtrate without giving him the power of the ſword, is to ſet one up to rule a metall'd Horſe without a Bridle; A chief Ruler without a Sword, may be ſaid to be like that Logg of Wood which *Jupiter* threw down among the Froggs to be their King, as it is in the Fable. Moreover, One of the chief-

eſt glories of a Nation is to have their Supreme Governor to be eſteem'd, and redouted abroad as well as at Home. And what Forren Nation will do either of theſe to the King of *England* if he be Armleſs, and without a Sword? who will give any reſpect or precedence to his Ambaſſadors, and Miniſters of State? The Sword alſo is the prime Inſtrument of publick protection, therefore that King who hath not the power of the Sword, muſt have another Title given Him, the Protector of his peeple.

Now, in a Succeſſive hereditary Kingdom, as *England* is known, and *acknowledged* to be by all Parties now in oppoſition, There are three things which are inalienable from the Perſon of the *King*: They are,

1. The *Crowne*.
2. The *Scepter*.
3. The *Sword*.

The one, He is to carry on His *Head*, the other in His *Hand*, and the third at His *Side*; and they may be termed all three the enſignes or peculiar inſtruments of a King: by the firſt, He *Reignes*, by the ſecond He makes *Lawes*, by the third He *Defends* them:

them: and the two first are but bables without the last, as was formerly spoken.

1. Touching the *Crown* or royal Diadem of *England*, ther is none, whether *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, *Protestant*, or others now in action, but confess that it descends by a right hereditary Line, (though through divers Races, and som of them Conquerours) upon the Head of *Charles* the first now Regnant: 'tis His own by inherent birth-right and nature, by Gods Law, and the Law of the Land, and these Parliament-men at their first sitting did agnize subjection unto Him accordingly, and recognize Him for their Soveraign Liege Lord: Nay, the *Roman Catholick* denies not this, for though there were *Bulls* sent to dispense with the English Subjects for their allegiance to Queen *Elizabeth*, yet the Pope did this against Her as he took Her for a *Heretick*, not an *Usurpresse*, though he knew well enough that She had bin declared Illegitimate by the Act of an English Parliament.

This Imperial Crown of *England* is adorned and deckd with many fair Flowers, which are called, royal Prerogatives; and they are of such a transcendent nature, that

they are unforfeitable, individual, and untransferrable to any other: The King can only ſummon and diſſolve Parliaments: The King can only Pardon (for when He is Crowned, He is ſworn to rule in Mercy as well as in Juſtice:) The King can only Coyn Money, and enhance or decry the value of it: The power of electing Officers of State, of Juſtices of Peace and Aſſize is in the King; He can only grant ſoveraign Commiſſions: The King can only wage War, and make Out-landiſh Leagues: The King may make all the Courts of Juſtice ambulatory with His Perſon, as they were uſed of old; 'tis tru, the Court of *Common Pleas* muſt be ſedentary in ſom certain place for ſuch a time; but that expired, 'tis removeable at His pleaſure: The King can only employ Ambaſſadours and Treat with forraign States, &c. Theſe, with other royal Prerogatives which I ſhall touch hereafter, are thoſe rare and wholſom flowers wherewith the Crown of *England* is embelliſhed, nor can they ſtick any where elſe but in the Crown, and all confeſs the Crown is as much the King's, as any private man's Cap is his own.

2. The ſecond regall Inſtrument is the

Scep-

Scepter, which may be called *an inſeparable companion*, or *a neceſſary appendix to the Crown*; this inveſts the *King* with the ſole Authority of making Lawes, for before His confirmation all reſults and determinations of Parliament are but Bills or Προβουλεύματα, they are but abortive things, and meer Embryos; nay, they have no life at all in them till the *King* puts breath and vigour into them: and the ancient cuſtome was for the *King* to touch them with His *Scepter*, then they are Lawes, and have a vertue in them to impoſe an obligation of univerſall obedience upon all ſorts of people, It being an undeniable maxime, That *nothing can be generally binding without the King's royall aſſent*, nor doth the Law of *England* take notice of any thing without it: This being done they are ever after ſtyl'd *the Kings Lawes*, and the Judges are ſaid to deliver the King's judgments, which agrees with the holy text, *The King by judgment ſhall ſtabliſh the Land*: nay, the Law preſumes the *King* to be alwaies the ſole Judge Paramount, and Lord chief Juſtice of *England*, for he whom He pleaſeth to depute for His chiefeſt Juſtice, is but ſtyl'd *Lord chief Juſtice of the Kings Bench*, not Lord chief Juſtice of *England*,

which title is peculiar to the *King* Himself, and observable it is, that whereas He grants Commissions and Patents to the Lord Chancellour (who is no other then *Keeper of His Conscience)* and to all other Judges, He names the Chief Justice of his own Bench by a short Writ only containing two or three lines: which run thus, *Regina Johanni Popham militi salutem, Sciatis quod constituimus vos justiciarium nostrum Capitalem ad placita coram nobis terminandum durante beneplacito nostro; Teste* &c. Now, though the *King* be liable to the Laws, and is contented to be within their verge, because they are chiefly His own productions, yet He is still their Protector, Moderator, and Soveraigne, which attributes are incommunicable to any other conjunctly or separately.

Thus the *King* with His *Scepter*, and by the mature advice of His two Houses of Parl. which are His highest Councel and Court, hath the sole power of making Laws; other Courts of judicature doe but expound them and distribute them by His appointment, they have but *Juris dati dictionem* or *declarationem*, and herein, I meane for the Exposition of the Lawes *the twelve Judges* are to be *believed before the whole Kingdom besides.*

ſides. They are as the Areopagites in *Athens*, the chief Preſidents in *France* and *Spaine* in an extraordinary *Iunta*, as the *Cape-Syndiques* in the *Rota's* of *Rome*, and the Republique of *Venice*, whoſe judgments in point of interpreting Lawes are incontroulable, and preferred before the opinion of the whole Senate whence they received their being; and who hath ſtill power to repeal them, though not to expound them. In *France* they have a Law maxime, *Arreſt donné en Robbe rouge eſt irrevocable*, which is, *a Scarlet Sentence is irrevocable*, meaning when all the Judges are met in their Robes, and the Client againſt whom the Cauſe goes, may chafe and chomp upon the bit, and ſay what he will for the ſpace of twenty foure howers againſt his Judges, but if ever after he traduces them, he is puniſhable: It is no otherwiſe here where every ignorant peeviſh Client, every puny Bariſter, ſpecially if he become a Member of the Houſe will be ready to arraign and vie knowledge with all the reverend Judges in the Land, whoſe judgement in points of Law ſhold be onely tripodicall and ſterling: ſo that he may be truly call'd a juſt King, and to rule according to Law, who rules according to the opinion of his

Judges

Judges; therefore, under favour, I do not see how his Majesty for his part could be call'd injust when he leavied the Ship-money, considering he had the Judges for it.

I now take the *Sword* in hand, which is the third Instrument of a King, (and which this short discours chiefly *points* at) it is as well as the two first incommunicable and inalienable from his Person; nothing concernes his honor more both at home and abroad; the *Crown* and the *Scepter* are but unweildy and impotent naked indefensible things without it. There's none so simple as to think there's meant hereby an ordinary single sword, such as ev'ry one carrieth by his side, or som imaginary thing or chymera of a sword; No, 'tis the polemicall publique sword of the whole Kingdom, 'tis an aggregative compound sword, and 'tis moulded of bell-metall; for 'tis made up of all the ammunition and armes small and great, of all the military strengths both by Land and Sea, of all the Forts, Castles and tenable places within and round about the whole Ile: The Kings of Engl. have had this sword by vertue of their royall signory from all times, the Laws have girded it to their sides, they have

have employed it for repeling all foren force, for revenging all forren wrongs or affronts, for quelling all inteſtine tumults, and for protecting the weal of the whole body politicke at home: The peeple were never capable of this ſword, the fundamentall conſtitutions of this Kingdom deny it them; 'tis all one to put the ſword in a mad mans hand, as in the peeples; or for them to have a diſpoſing power in whoſe hands it ſhall be. Such was the caſe once of the French ſword, in that notorious inſurrection call'd to this day *La Jaqueris de Beauvoiſin*, when the Peſants and Mechanicks had a deſign to wreſt it out of the Kings hand, and to depreſſe all the Peers and Gentry of the Kingdom; and the buſineſſe had gone ſo far that the peaſans might have prevail'd, had not the *Prelats* ſtuck cloſe to the Nobility; But afterwards poor hare-brain'd things they deſire the King upon bended knees to take it againe; Such popular puffs have blowen often in *Poland*, *Naples* and other places, where while they ſought and fought for liberty by retrenching the regall power, they fool'd themſelfs into a ſlavery unawares, and found the rule right, that *exceſſe of freedom turns to thraldom*, and uſhers in all confuſions.

fusions. If one shold go back to the nonage of the world, when Governers and Rulers began first, one will find the peeple desir'd to live under Kings for their own advantage, that they might be restrain'd from wild exorbitant liberty, and kept in unity; Now unity is as requisit for the wel-being of all naturall things, as entity is for their being, and 'tis a receiv'd maxime in policy, that nothing preserves Unity more exactly then Royal Government: besides, 'tis known to be the nobleſt sort of sway; In so much that by the Law of Nations, if Subjects of equal degrees, and under differing Princes shold meet, the Subjects of a King shold take precedency of those under any Republique.

But to take up the Sword again. I say that the Sword of public Power and Authority is fit only to hang at the Kings side, and so indeed shold the *Great Seal* hang only at his girdle, because 'tis the Key of the Kingdom: which makes me think of what I read of *Charlemain*, how he had the imperial Seal embos'd alwaies upon the pommell of his Sword, and his reason was, that he was ready to maintain whatsoever he signed, and sealed.

The Civilians, who are not in all points so great

great friends to Monarchy as the Common Law of England is, ſay, there are ſix *Jura Regalia*, ſix Regal Rights, *viz.* 1. *Poteſtas Judicatoria*, 2. *Poteſtas vitæ & necis*, 3. *Armamenta*, 4. *Bona adeſpota*, 5. *Cenſus*, 6. *Monetarum valor*: to wit, *Power of Judicature*, *Power of Life and Death*, *all kind of arming*, *maſterleſs goods*, *Seiſſements*, *and the value of money*.

Among theſe *Regalia's*, we find that *Arming*, which in effect is nought elſe but the Kings Sword, is among the chiefeſt; and 'tis as proper and peculiar to his perſon, as either Crown or Scepter. By theſe two he drawes a looſe voluntary love and opinion only from his Subjects, but by the Sword he draws reverence and awe, which are the chiefeſt ingredients of allegiance, it being a maxime, *That the beſt mixture of Government is made of fear and love.* With this Sword he conferrs honor, he dubbs Knights, he creates Magiſtrates, the Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, the Lord Mayor of *London* with all other Corporations have their Swords from him, and when he entereth any place corporate, we know the firſt thing that is preſented him is the Sword: With this Sword he ſhields and preſerves all his people that

every

every one may ſit quietly under his own Vine, ſleep ſecurely in his own Houſe, and enjoy ſweetly the fruits of his labours.

Nor doth the point of this Sword reach only to every corner of his own dominions, but it extends beyond the ſeas to gard his Subjects from oppreſſion, and denial of juſtice, as well as to vindicate the publick wrongs, make good the intereſts of his Crown, and to aſſiſt his confederates; This is the Sword that *Edward* the third tied the *Flower deluces* unto (which ſtick ſtill unto it,) when having ſent to *France* to demand that Crown by maternal right, the Counſell ther ſent him word that the *Crown of France was not tied to a diſtaff*, to which *ſcoffing* anſwer he replied, *that then he wold tie it to his ſword*, and he was as good as his word. Nor is this publick ſword concredited or intruſted by the *peeple* in a fiduciary conditionall way to the King, but it is properly and peculiarly belonging unto him, as an inſeparable concomitant, perpetual Uſher and attendant to his Crown. The King, we know, uſeth to maintain all garriſons upon his own charge, not the peeples; he fortifies upon his own charge, not the peeples: And though I will not averr, that the King may impreſſe any

of

of his Subjects, unleſſe it be upon an actuall vaſion by Sea, or a ſudden irruption into his Kingdom by Land, as the Scots have often done, yet at any time the King may raiſe Volunteers, and thoſe who have received his money, the Law makes it *felony*, if they forſake his ſervice.

Thus we ſee there's nothing that conduceth more to the glory, and indeed the very eſſence of a King then the Sword, which is the Armes and Military ſtrength of his Kingdom; wherfore under favour, ther cannot be a greater point of diſhonour to a King then to be diſarmed, then to have his Sword taken from him, or diſpos'd of and intruſted to any but thoſe whom he ſhall appoint; for as *à minori ad majus* the Argument often holds, if a private Gentleman chance to be diſarm'd upon a quarrell, 'tis held the utmoſt of diſgraces, much greater and more public is the diſhonor that falls upon a King, if after ſom traverſes of difference 'twixt him and his Subjects, they ſhold offer to diſarm him, or demand his Sword of him: when the Eagle parted with his talons, and the Lion with his teeth and ongles, the Apolog tells us how contemptible afterwards the one grew to be among Birds, the other among

mong Birds, the other among Beasts. For a King to part with the Sword politic is to render himself such a ridiculous King, as that logg of wood was which *Jupiter* let down among the froggs for their King at the importunity of their croaking; 'tis to make him a King of clouts, or as the Spaniard hath it, *Rey de Havas*, a Bean-King, such as we use to choose in sport at Twelfnight.

But my hopes are, that the two present Houses of Parliament (for now they may be call'd so, because they begin to *parley* with their King,) will be more tender of the honour of their Soveraign Liege Lord, which, together with all his Rights and Dignities, by severall solemn Oaths, and by their own binding instruments of *Protestation and Covenant*, (not yet revok'd) they are sworne to maintaine, and that they will demand nothing of him which may favour of *Asperè* or force, but what may hold water hereafter: But now, touching the *Militia* or Sword of the Kingdom, I think, under favour, the King cannot transfer it to any other; for that were to desert the protection of his people, which is point blank against his Coronation Oath and his Office: What forren

Prince

Prince or State will ſend either *Ambaſſador*, *Reſident* or *Agent* to him, when they underſtand his Sword is taken from him? What reformed forein Church will acknowledg Him *Defendor of the Faith*, when they hear of this? Nay, they who wiſh England no good will, will go near to paint him out, as not long ſince another King was, with a fair velvet Scabbard, a ſpecious golden hilt and chape, but the blade within was of wood. I hope that they who ſway now, will make better uſe of their ſucceſſes: Many of them know 'tis as *difficult a thing to uſe a victory well, as to get one*; ther is as much prudence requir'd in the one, as proweſſe in the other; they will be wiſer ſure then turn it to the diſhonor of their King: it being a certain rule, that the glory of a Nation all the world over depends upon the glory of their King, and if he be any way obſcur'd, the whole Kingdom is under an eclipſe.

I have obſerved, that among other characters of gallantry, which forein Writers appropriat to the Engliſh Nation, one is, that they uſe to be moſt zealous to preſerve the Honor of their King; I truſt that they who are now up will return to the ſteps of their Progenitors, both in this particular and divers

other; that their ſucceſſes may ſerve to ſweeten and moderat things, and ſuppreſs the popular Sword which ſtill rages; And it had bin heartily wiſhed that a ſuſpenſion of Arms had preceded this Treaty, which uſeth to be the ordinary fore-runner, and a neceſſary antecedent to all Treaties; for while acts of hoſtility continue, ſom ill-favour'd newes may intervene which may imbitter and diſturb all: nor can it be expected that the proceedings will go on with that candor and confidence, while the old rancor is ſtill in action: 'tis impoſſible a ſore ſhold heal till the inflamation be taken away; To caſt *water* into a wound inſtead of *oyle* is not the way to cure it: or to caſt *oyle* upon a fire inſtead of *water* is not the way to quench it; poor England hath had a conſuming fire within her bowels many years, ſhe is alſo mortally wounded in all her members, that ſhe is ſtill in a high Fever, which hath made her rave and ſpeak idle a long time; and 'tis like to turn to a *Hectic*, if not timely prevented. I pray God ſhe may have no occaſion to make uſe of the ſame complaint as *Alexander* the Great made when he was expiring his laſt, *Perii turba Medicorum: too many Phyſitians have undon me.*

To

To conclude in a word, ther is but one only way, under favor, to put a period to all these fearful confusions; it is, to put the great Master-wheel in order, and in its due place again, and then all the inferior wheels will move regularly; let the King be restor'd, and ev'ry one will come to his own, all interests will be satisfied, all things quickly rectified; till this be done, 'tis as absurd to attempt the setling of peace, as if one shold go about to set a Watch by the gnomen of an horizontall Diall when the Sun is in a cloud.

AN

ITALIAN *PROSPECTIVE,*

Through which

GREAT BRITAIN

(Without any

MULTIPLYING ART)

May cleerly *See*

Her preſent *DANGER;*

And *foreſee* Her future

DESTRUCTION,

If not timely prevented.

Perditio tua ex Te Anglia.

Paræneſis Angliæ.

O England (ſpecially thou beſotted City of *London*) if Thou be'ſt not quite paſt cure, or grown careleſs and deſperat of thy ſelf, if the leaſt ſpark of *Grace*, or ray of *Reſon* be yet remaining in *Thee*, be warn'd, be warn'd by this *ſtranger*, who having felt thy pulſe, and caſt thy water very exactly, diſcovers in *Thee* ſymptoms of inevitable Ruine if thou holdſt on this cours.

Divers of thy *own* children oftentimes admoniſh'd *Thee* with

tears in their eyes, and *terror in their hearts*, to recollect thy self, and return to thy old road of obedience to thy Soveram Prince, But *They* have bin little regarded, Let a *Foreiners* advice then take place, and make som impresſions in Thee to prevent thy utter deſtruction.

From the priſon of the Fleet 2. *Aug.* 1647.

J. H.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE Deplorable, and Desperat condition THAT *ENGLAND* stands in,

Sent from *LONDON*, *Anno* 1647.

To the LORD

FRANCISCO BARBERINI,

Cardinal of the most holy Apostolick See, and Protector of the *English* Nation, at his Palaces in *Rome*.

MY last to your *Eminence* was but *short*, in regard I had been but a *short* time in this Countrey, I have now made a longer sojourn here, and taken a leisurely information of all matters; therefore I shall give your Eminence an

an account proportionably: *For by* conversation with the most indifferent, and intelligenc'd men, and by communication with the Ambassadors here resident, I have taken some paines to pump out the truth of things, and penetrat the Intereſt of all parties.

And truly, I find, that *That* angry *ſtar*, which hath lowr'd so long upon *Europe* in generall, hath been as predominant, and cast as direfull aſpects upon this poor Iland, as it hath done upon any other part: Truly, my Lord, in all probability this peeple have pass'd the Meridian of their happineſſe, and begin to decline extreamly, as well in *Repute* abroad, as also in the common notions of *Religion*, and indeed in the ordinary faculty of *Reaſon*: I think verily the Ill Spirit never reign'd so much in any corner of the earth by those inhumane and horrid things that I have obſerv'd among them. Nor is it a petty Spirit, but one of the greateſt *Cacodæmons* that thus drives them on, and makes them so active in the purſuance of their own perdition.

To deduce matters from their Originall, Your Eminency may pleaſe to underſtand, that this King at his acceſſe to the Crown had

deep debts to pay, both of His Fathers, and his own, he was left ingaged in a freſh warre with *Spain*; and had another preſently after which *France*, and both at one time, but he came off well enough of thoſe: Afterwards never any Countrey flouriſhed in that envied happineſſe, and wanton kind of proſperity; This City of *London* was grown to be the greateſt Mart, and miſtreſs of trade, of any in the world; Inſomuch, as I have been certainly inform'd, the King might have ſpent meerly upon His cuſtomes 4000 crowns a day: Moreover, ſhe had a vaſt bank of money being made the *ſcale* of conveying the King of *Spains* treaſure to *Flanders*: Inſomuch that in a few yeers ſhe had above ten millions of his moneys brought hither, which ſhe might have remitted in ſpecie or in marchandize, and for which this King had five in the hundred for coynage: Yet could he not get beforehand with the world, having a ſiſter with ſo many Nephews and neeces, having a Queen with diverſe children of His own, (at leaſt 16 of the Blood-Royall) to maintaine, with divers profuſe Courtiers beſides, which made Him more parſimonious then ordinary. The Warres then growing more active 'twixt

Spaine

Spaine and *France*, as alſo 'twixt *Holland* and *Spaine* both by Land and Sea, and divers great Fleets of Men of War as well *French* (who were growne powerfull that way) as *Dunkerkers*, *Spaniards*, *Hollanders*, and *Hamburgers*, appearing daily in His narrow Seas, and ſayling cloſe by His *Chambers*, the world wondred this King had no greater ſtrength at Sea, in caſe that any of the foreſaid Nations ſhould doe him an affront, as ſome of them had already done, by denying to daſh their Colours to his Ships: Inſomuch that in *Holland* and other places he was paſquill'd at, and pourtrayed lying in his cradle lullaby'd and rock'd aſleep by the Spaniard: Hereupon being by advertiſements from his Agents abroad, and frequent advice of His Privie Councell at home, made ſenſible of the danger, and a kind of diſhonour he was faln into, and having intelligence that the French Cardinall began to queſtion his title to the *Dominion of the narrow Seas*, conſidering He employed no viſible power to preſerve it, He began to conſult of meanes to ſet forth a royall Fleet: but in regard the Purſe of the Crowne was lightly ballaſted, and that he had no mind to ſummon the three Eſtates, becauſe of ſome indignities he

he had received in former Parliaments by the *Puritan* party (a race of people averſe to all Kingly Government, unleſſe they may pare it as they pleaſe) his then Atturney Generall(*Noy*) a great cryed-up-Lawyer, put it in his Head to impoſe an old Tax called *Ship-mony* upon the Subject, which the ſaid Lawyer did warrant upon his life to be Legall, for he could produce divers Records how many of his Progenitors had done the like: The King not ſatisfied with his ſingle opinion, refer'd it to his learn'd Council, & they unanimouſly averred it to be agreeable to the Law of the Land; yet this would not fully ſatisfie the King, but He would have the Opinion of His twelve Judges, and they alſo affirmed by their *ſingle* vouches the ſaid Tax to be warrantable; Hereupon it was impoſed and leavied, but ſome refuſing to pay it, there was a ſuite commenc'd, during which all the Judges were to re-deliver their opinions joyntly, and the buſineſſe being maturely debated and canvaſed in open Court divers months, and all arguments produc'd *pro & con*, nine of the ſaid twelve Judges concluded it legal. Thereupon the King continued the impoſition of the ſaid Tax, and never was mony imployed ſo much for the Honour and advantage of a Countrey, for he ſent

out every Summer a royall fleet to ſcowre and ſecure the Seas; he cauſed a Galeon to be built, the greateſt and gallanteſt that ever ſpread ſaile: Nor did he purſe up, and diſpoſe of one peny of this money to any other uſe, but added much of his own Revenues yeerly thereunto: So the world abroad cried up the King of *England* to be awake againe; *Trade* did wonderfully encreale, both Domeſtic and forrein in all the three Kingdomes; *Ireland* was reduced to an abſolute Settlement, the Arrears of the Crown payed, and a conſiderable Revenue came thence cleerly to the Exchequer of *England* every year, the ſalaries of all Officers, with the pay of the ſtanding Army there, and all other Charges being defrayed by *Ireland* her ſelf, which was never done before. Yet for all this height of pappineſſe, and the glorious fruites of the ſaid Ship-money, (which was but a kind of petty inſenſible Tax,& a thing of nothing to what hath hapened ſince) there were ſome fooliſh peeple in this Land which murmured at it, and cryed nothing elſe but a Parliament, a Parliament; and they have had a Parliament ſince with a vengeance.

But before this occaſion, it was obſerved, that the ſeeds of diſobedience, and a ſpirit

ſpirit of inſurrection was a long time engendring in the hearts of ſom of this peace-pampred People, which is conceived to proceed from their converſation and commerce with three ſorts of men, *viz.* the *Scot*, the *Hollander* and the *French Huguenot*. Now an advantage happened that much conduced to neceſſitate the convoking of a Parliament, which was an ill-favoured traverſe that fell out in *Scotland*; For the King intending an Uniformity of Divine worſhip in all His three Kingdoms, ſent thither the *Liturgy* of this Church, but it found cold and courſe entertainment ther, for the whole Nation, men, women and children riſe up a gainſt them: Hereupon the King abſolutely revoked it by Proclamation, wherein He declared 'twas never His purpoſe to preſs the practiſe therof upon the Conſciences of any; therfore commanded that all things ſhold be in *ſtatu quo prius*, but this wold not ſerve the turn, the *Scot* took advantge hereby to deſtroy *Hierarchy*, and pull down the Biſhops to get their demeans: To which purpoſe they came with an Army in open Field againſt their own *Native* King, who not diſgeſting this indignity, Muſtred another *Engliſh* Army; which being upon the con-

confines of both Kingdoms, a kind of *Pacification* was plaiſtred over for the preſent.

The King returning to *London*, and conſulting His ſecond thoughts, reſented that inſolency of the *Scots* more then formerly: Hereupon He ſummons a Parliament, and deſires aid to Vindicat that Affront of the *Scot*. The *Scot* had ſtrong Intelligence with the Puritan Faction in the *Engliſh* Parliament, who ſeemed to abet his quarrel, rather then to be ſenſible of any national diſhonour received from him; which cauſed that ſhort-lived Parliament to diſſolve in diſcontent, and the King was forced to find other means to raiſe and ſupport an Army by privat Loanes of His nobler ſort of Subjects and Servants: The *Scot* having punctual Advertiſements of every thing that paſſed, yea, in the Kings Cabinet Councel was not idle all this while, but rallies what was left of the former Army (which by the Articles of Pacification (a little before) ſhould have bin abſolutely *diſmiſſed)* and boldly invades *England*, which he durſt never have done, if he had not well known that this Puritan party which was now grown very powerful here, and indeed had *invited* him to this expedi-

pedition, wold ſtand to him. This forein Army being by the pernicious cloſe machinations of ſom mongrel *Engliſhmen* aforementioned, entred into the Bowels of the Country, the King was forced to call this preſent Parliament, with whom he complyed in every thing, ſo far as to ſacrifice unto them both *Judge*, *Biſhop*, *Councellor* and *Courtier*; yea, He yielded to the tumbling down of many tribunals of Juſtice, which were an advantage to his Prerogative; He aſſented that the Prelates, who were the moſt Ancient and Prime Members of the upper Houſe, and had priority of all others, ſince the firſt conſtitution of Parliament in the enrollment of all Acts, He aſſented I ſay that theſe, who were the greateſt prop of His Crown ſhold be quite outed from among the Peers; He granted them alſo a *Trienniall* Parliament, and after that, this *Perpetuall*; which words, to the apprehenſion of any rational man, carry with them a groſſe abſurdity in the very ſenſe of the thing: And touching this laſt Grant, I had it from a good hand, that the Queen was a friend to this Parliament, and your Eminence knows how they have requited Her ſince, but the main open Councellor to this fatall Act was a *Scot*.

Now the reaſon which they alledged for this everlaſting Parliament was one of the baldeſt that ever I heard of, it was, that they might have time enough to pay the *Scots* Army, wheras in one morning they might have diſpatched that, by paſſing ſo many Subſidies for that uſe, and upon the credit of thoſe, they might have raiſed what money they wold.

The Parliament finding the King ſo ply-able, and His pulſe to beat ſo gently, like ill-natur'd men they fall from inches to ells in ſeeking their advantages: They grew ſo peremptory as to demand all the Military ſtrength of the Kingdom, the Tower of *London*, with the whole Royal Navy, which they found in an excellent equipage, gramercy ſhip-money; ſo that the benefit of ſhip-money, which they ſo clamoured at, turned moſt to their advantage of any thing afterwards.

The *Scot* being Fidler-like returned to his Country with meat, drink, and money, the King went a while after to keep a Parliament ther, wherein he filled every blank, they did but ask and have, for He granted them what poſſibly they could propound, both for their Kirk and State, many re-

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ceived Honour, and they divided Bishops Lands amongst them: for all which unparallel'd Concessions of Princely grace, they caused an Act already in force to be published, *viz.* that it shold be damnable Treason in the highest degree that could be, for any of the Scots Nation conjunctly or singly to levy armes, or any Military Forces, upon any pretext whatsoever, without His Majesties royal Commission; and this they caused to be don by way of gratitude, but how they perform'd it afterwards the world knowes too well.

The King returning to *London*, in lieu of a welcom to his two Houses of Parliament (to whom also before his departure he had passed more Acts of Grace then all his Progenitors, take them all in a lump) they had patch'd up a kind of *Remonstrance*, which was voted in dead of the night, wherein they expos'd to the world the least moat in former government, and aggravated to the very height every grievance, notwithstanding that the King had redressed all before; and this *Remonstrance*, which breath'd nothing but a base kind of malice, they presented as a nosegay to their Soveraign Prince, to congratulat his safe return from a forein Coun-

trey; which *Remonſtrance* they caus'd to be printed and publiſh'd before he could give any anſwer thereunto. The King finding ſuch a virulent ſpirit ſtill raign in the Houſe, and knowing who were chiefly poſſeſs'd with it (*viz.* Thoſe whom he had impeach'd before, but ſaw he could get no juſtice againſt them) in ſuch an extremity, he did an act like a generous Prince, for taking the *Palſ-grave* with him, he took the firſt Coach he met withall at his Court-gate, and went to his Houſe of Commons in perſon, to demand *five Members*, which he wold prove to be Traitors in the higheſt degree [illegible] be the Authors of all theſe diſtempe[illegible]ing upon the word of a King, [illegible] ſhold have as fair & legal a tryal as eve[illegible] had; in the interim he only deſi[illegible] their perſons might be ſecur'd. The walls of both Houſes, and the very ſtones in *London* ſtreet did ſeem to ring of this high carriage of the Kings, and the ſound went thence to the Country, whence the filly Plebeians came preſently in whole herds to this City, who ſtrutting up and down the ſtreets, had nothing in their mouths, but that the *Priviledg of Parlement, the priviledg of Parlement was broken*, though it be the known

known clear Law of the Land, that the Parlement cannot ſuperſede or ſhelter any Treaſon.

The King finding how violently the pulſe of the groſly ſeduced people did beat, and ther having bin formerly divers riotous crues of baſe Mechaniques and Mariners, who had affronted both his own Court, and the two Houſes beſides, which the Commons, to their eternal reproach, conniv'd at, notwithſtanding that divers motions were made by the Lords to ſuppreſſe them, the King alſo having privat intelligence that ther was a miſchievous plot to ſurprize his perſon, remov'd his Court to the Countrey.

The King departing, or rather being *driven* away thus from his two Houſes, by this mutinous City, he might well at his going away have ubraided her in the ſame words as *H.* the 3. did upbraid *Paris*, who being by ſuch another tumultuous rabble driven out of her in the time of the *Ligue*, as he was loſing ſight of her, he turn'd his face back, and ſaid, *Farewel ingratefull City, I will never ſee thee again till I make my way into thee through thy walls:* Yet though the King abſented himſelf in perſon thus from the two Houſes, he ſent them frequent meſſages, that they

wold draw into Acts what he had already assented unto, and if any thing was left yet undon by him, he wold do it; therfore he will'd them to leave off those groundless feares and jealousies wherwith they had amus'd both City and Country; and he was ready to return at all times to his Palace in Westminster, provided that his person might be secur'd from the former barbarisms and outrages: But in lieu of a dutiful compliance with their Prince, the thoughts of the two Houses ran upon nothing but war: The King then retiring into the North, and thinking with a few of his servants only to go visit a Town of his (*Hull*) he was denyed entrance by a fatal unlucky wretch (*Hotham*) who afterwards was shamefully executed with his Eldest Son, by command of his new Masters of the Parlement: The King being thus shut out of his own Town (which open'd the first dore to a bloudy war) put forth a Declaration, wherin he warn'd all his people that they shold look to their proprieties, for if *He* was thus barr'd of his own, how could any privat Subject be sure to be Master of any thing he had, and herein he was as much *Prophet* as *Prince*; For the Parlement-men afterwards made themselfs Land-Lords of

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the whole Kingdom, it hath bin usual for them to thrust any out of his freehold, to take his bed from under him, and his shirt from off his very back. The King being kept thus out of one of his Townes, might suspect that he might be driven out of another, therfore 'twas time for him to look to the preservation of his Person, and the Country came in voluntarily unto him by thousands to that purpose, but he made choice of a few only to be his gard, as the Parlementeers had done a good while before for themselfs: But now they went otherwise to work, for they fell a levying, listing and arming men by whole Regiments and Brigades till they had a very considerable Army afoot, before the King had one Musqueteer or Trooper on his side; yet these men are so notoriously impudent, as to make the King the first Aggressor of the war, and to lay upon Him all the bloud that was spilt to this day, wherein the Devil himself cannot be more shameless. The Parliamenteers having an army of foot and horse thus in perfect Equipage, 'twas high time for the King to look to himself, therefore he was forced to display his royal Standard, and draw his sword quite out: Thus a

cruel and moſt cruentous civil war began, which laſted near upon four years without intermiſſion, wherein there happen'd more battales, ſieges and skirmiſhes, then paſſed in the Nether-lands in fourſcore years, and herein the Engliſhmen may be ſaid to get ſom credit abroad in the world, that they have the ſame bloud running in their veines (though not the ſame braines in their ſculls) which their Anceſtors had, who were obſerved to be the activeſt people in the field, impatient of delay, and moſt deſirous of battaile then any Nation.

But it was one of the greateſt miracles that ever happen'd in this Land, how the King was able to ſubſiſt ſo long againſt the Parlamenteers, conſidering the multiplicity of infinite advantages they had of him by water and land: for they had the *Scot*, the *Sea* and the *City* on their ſide; touching the firſt, he ruſhed in as an Auxiliary with above 20000. Horſe and Foot compleatly furniſh'd both with ſmall and great ammunition and Arms, well cloth'd and money'd: For the ſecond, they had all the Kings ſhips well appointed, which are held to be the greateſt ſecurity of the Iſland both for defence and offence, for every one of them

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is accounted one of the moving Castles of the Kingdom: besides, they had all the other standing stone-Castles, Forts, and tenable places to boot: Concerning the last, (*viz.* the City) therein they had all the wealth, bravery, and prime ammunition of *England*, this being the only Magazin of men aud money: Now if the K. had had but one of these on his side, he had in all probability crush'd them to nothing: yet did he bear up strangely against them a long time, and might have done longer, had he kept the campane, and not spent the spirits of his men before Townes; had he not made a disadvantagious election of som Commanders in chief, and lastly, had he not had close *Traitors* within dores, as well as open *Rebels* without; for his very Cabinet Councel, and Bed-Chamber were not free of such vermin, and herein the Parlementeers spent unknown sums and were very prodigal of the Kingdoms money.

The King, after many traverses of war, being reduced to a great strait by crosse successes and Counsels, rather then to fall into the hands of the Parlementeers, withdrew himself in a Serving-mans disguise to the Scots army, as his last randevous, and this

plot

plot was manag'd by the French Agent then reſiding here; A man wold think that that Nation wold have deem'd it an eternal honour unto them to have their own King and Countrey-man throw himſelf thus into their armes, and to repoſe ſuch a ſingular truſt in them upon ſuch an Extremity: but they correſponded not ſo well with him as he expected, for though at firſt when the Parlamenteers ſollicited their *dear Brethren* for a delivery of the Kings perſon unto them, their note was then, if any forein petty Prince had ſo put himſelf upon them, they could not with honour deliver him, much leſs their own native King; yet they made a ſacrifice of him at laſt for 800000. Crownes; wherupon *Bellieure* the French Ambaſſador being convoyed by a Troop of horſe from the King towards *London*, to ſuch a ſtand, in lieu of larges to the ſouldiers, he drew out an half Crown piece, and ask'd them how many pence that was, they anſwered 30. *He replyed, for ſo much did Judas betray his Maſter, and ſo he departed.*

And now, that in the cours of this Hiſtorical Narration, I have touch'd upon *France*, your Eminence may pleaſe to underſtand, that

that nothing almoſt could tend more to the advantage of that K. then theſe commotions in England, conſidering that he was embark'd in an actuall war with the Houſe of *Auſtria* and that this Iland did do *Spain* ſome good offices ; among other, by tranſport of his treaſure to Dunkerk in Engliſh bottomes, whereunto this King gave way, and ſometimes in his own Galeons, which ſav'd the Spaniard neer upon 20. in the hundred, then if he had ſent it by way of Genoa ; ſo that ſom think, though France made ſemblance to reſent the ſad condition of her Neighbour, and thereupon ſent the Prince of *Harcour*, and the foreſaid Monſieur *Bellieure* to compoſe matters, yet ſhe never really intended it, as being againſt her preſent intereſt and engagements : yet the world thinks it much that ſhe ſhold publiquely receive an Agent from theſe Parlamenteeres, and that the French Nobility who were us'd to be the gallanteſt men in the world to vindicate the quarrels of diſtreſſed Ladies, are not more ſenſible of the outrages that have bin offer'd a *daughter of France*, ſpecially of *Henry the greats*.

But to reſume the threed of my Narration, the King (and with him, one may ſay, England

England alſo) being thus bought and ſold, the Parlamenteers inſteed of bringing him to Weſtminſter, which had put a Period to all diſtempers, toſs'd him up and downe to private houſes, and kept the former Army ſtill afoot: And truly I think there was never Prince ſo abus'd, or poor peeple ſo baffled, and no peeple but a purblind beſotted peeple wold have ſuffred themſelves to be ſo baffled: for notwithſtanding that no Enemy appeer'd in any corner of the Kingdome, yet above 20000. Tagaroones have bin kept together ever ſince to grind the faces of the poor, and exhauſt the very vitall ſpirits of town and Countrey, and keep them all in a perfect ſlavery: Had the Parlament-men, when the Scots were gone, brought their King in a generous and frank way (as had well becom'd Engliſhmen) to ſit among them, and truſted to him (which of neceſſity they muſt do at laſt) as they had gain'd more honor far in the world abroad, ſo they had gain'd more upon his affections then I beleeve they will ever do hereafter.

But to proceed, the King having bin a good while priſoner to the Parlement, the Army ſnatch'd him away from them, and ſom of the chiefeſt Commanders having pawn'd

pawn'd their ſoules unto him to reſtore him ſpeedily, in lieu thereof they tumbled him up and down to ſundry places, till they juggled him at laſt to that ſmall Ile where now he is ſurrounded with a gard of ſtrange faces; and if happly he beginns to take delight in any of thoſe faces, he is quickly taken out of his ſight. Theſe harſh uſages hath made him become all gray and oregrown with hair ſo that he lookes rather like ſom Silvan Satyr then a Soverain Prince: And truly my Lord the meaneſt ſlave in St. *Marks* gallies or the abjects Captif in *Algier* bannier is not ſo miſerable as he in divers kinds, for *they* have the comfort of their wifes, children and frends, they can convey and receive Letters, ſend Meſſengers upon their errands, and have privat diſcours with any; all which is denied to the King of great Britain, nay the young Princes his children are not permitted as much as to ask him bleſſing in a letter. In ſo much that if he were not a great King of his paſſions, and had a heart caſt in on extraordinary Mould, theſe preſſures and thoſe baſe aſperſions that have bin publiquely caſt upon him by the Parlement it ſelf, had bin enough to have ſent him out of the world e're this, and indeed 'tis the main thing they drive

drive at, to torture his braine, and tear his very heart ſtrings if they could: ſo that whereas this fooliſh ignorant peeple ſpeak ſuch horrid things of our *Inquiſition*, truly my Lord 'tis a moſt gentle way of proceeding being compar'd to this Kings perſecutions.

As the King himſelfe is thus in quality of a captif, ſo are all his Subjects becom perfect ſlaves, they have fool'd themſelfs into a worſe ſlavery then *Jew* or *Greek* under the *Ottomans*, for they know the bottom of their ſervitude by paying ſo many Sultaneſſes for every head; but here, people are put to endleſs, unknown, tyrannical Taxes, beſides *plundering* and *Accize*, which two words, and the practiſe of them (with *ſtorming* of Towns) they have learnt of their pure Brethren of *Holland*: and for *plundrings*, theſe Parliamenteer-Saints think they may robb any that adheres not to them as lawfully as the *Jewes* did the *Egyptians*: 'Tis an unſommable maſſe of money theſe Reformers have ſquandred in few years, whereof they have often promis'd and ſolemnly voted a publick account to ſatisfie the Kingdom: but as in a hundred things more, ſo in this precious particular they have diſpens'd with

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their Votes: they have consumed more treasure with pretence to *purge* one Kingdom, then might have served to have *purchas'd* two; more (as I am credibly told) then all the Kings of *England* spent of the public stock since the *Saxon* Conquest: Thus have they not only begger'd the whole Island, but they have hurld it into the most fearfull'st Chaos of confusion that ever poor Countrey was in; they have torn in pieces the reines of all Government, trampled upon all Lawes of heaven and earth, and violated the very Dictamens of nature, by making Mothers to betray their Sons, and the Sons their Fathers, but specially that Great *Charter*, which is the *Pandect* of all the Laws and Liberties of the free-born Subject, which at their admission to the House they are solemnly sworn to maintain, is torn in flitters: besides those severall Oaths they forg'd themselfs, as the *Protestation* and *Covenant*, where they voluntarily swear to maintain the Kings Honour and Rights, together with the established Laws of the Land, &c. Now I am told, that all Acts of Parlement here are Lawes, and they carry that Majesty with them, that no power can suspend or repeal them, but the same

power

power that made them, which is the King sitting in full Parlement; these mongrell Polititians have bin so notoriously impudent as to make an inferiour *Ordinance* of theirs to do it, which is point-blanck against the very fundamentals of this Government, and their own Oaths, which makes me think that there was never such a perjur'd pack of wretches upon earth, never such Monsters of mankind.

Yet this simple infatuated peeple have a Saint-like opinion of these Monsters, this foolish Citie gards them daily with Horse and Foot, whereby she may be sayd to kisse the very stones that are thrown at her, and the hand whence they came, which a dogg would not do: But she falls to recollect her self now that shee begins to be pinch'd in Trade, and that her Mint is starv'd, yet the leading'st men in her Common-Councell care not much for it, in regard most of them have left traffiquing abroad, finding it a more easie and gainefull way of trading at home, by purchasing *Crown* or *Church* lands, plunder'd goods, and debts upon the *Publick Faith*, with *Soldiers debenters*; thus the Saints of this Iland *turne godlinesse into gaine.*

Truly my Lord, I give the English for a

lost

loſt Nation, if they continue long *thus*, never was ther a more palpable oblæſion of the brain, and a more viſible decay of *Reaſon* in any race of men: It is a ſore judgment from heaven, that a people ſhold not be more ſenſible how they are become ſlaves to *Rebells*, and *thoſe*, moſt of them the ſcumm of the Nation, which is the *baſeſt* of miſeri s: how they ſuffer them to tyrannize by a meer arbitrary extrajudicial power o're their very ſouls and bodies, o're their very lifs and livelihoods; how their former freedom is turn'd to fetters, Molehills into Mountains of grievances, *Ship-money* into *Accize*, Juſtice into Tyranny: For nothing hath bin and is daily ſo common amongſt them as impriſonment without charge, and a charge without an accuſer, condemnation without apparance, and forfeitures without conviction.

To ſpeak a little more of the King, if all the infernal fiends had ligu'd againſt him, they could not have deſign'd or diſgorged more malice: They wold have laid to his charge his Fathers death, as arrand a lie as ever was forg'd in hell: they wold make him fore-know the inſurrection in *Ireland*, wheras the *ſpaniſh* Ambaſſador here, and his

Confeſſor who is a very reverend Iriſh-man, told me, that he knew no more of it then the grand *Mogor* did: they charge him with all the bloud of this civil war, wheras they and their inſtruments were the firſt kindlers of it, and that firſt prohibited trade and ſhut him out of his own Town: They have intercepted and printed his privat Letters to his Queen, and Hers to him, (Oh barbarous baſeneſſe!) but therin they did him a pleaſure, though the intent was malitious, their aim in all things being to envenom the hearts of his people towards him; and this was to render him a glorious and *well-belov'd Prince*, as likewiſe for making him rich, (all which they had vow'd to do upon paſſing the Act of *Continuance*;) But now they have made him poorer then the meaneſt of all his vaſſals, they have made him to have no *propriety* in houſe, goods, or Lands, or as one may ſay, in his wife and children: 'Twas uſual for the father to hunt in his Park while the ſon hunted for his life in the field, for the wife to lie in his bedds, while the husband layed wait to murther him abroad; they have ſeiz'd upon and ſold his privat Hangings and Plate, yea his very Cabinets, Jewels, Pictures, Statues, and Books.

Nor

Nor are they the honorableſt ſort of peeple, and men nobly extracted (as in *Scotland*) that do all this, (for then it were not ſo much to be wondred at) but they are the meaneſt ſort of Subjects, many of them illiterat Mechaniques, wherof the lower Houſe is full; ſpecially the ſubordinat Committees, who domineer more o're Nobles and Gentry, then the Parliament Members themſelſs their Maſters uſe to do.

Touching thoſe few Peers that ſit now voting in the upper Houſe, they may be ſaid to be but meer Cyphers, they are grown ſo degenerat as to ſuffer the *Commons* to give them the Law, to ride upon their backs, and do moſt things without them: Ther be many thouſand Petitions that have bin recommended by theſe Lords to the lower Houſe, which are ſcornfully thrown into corners and never read; their Meſſengers have us'd to dance attendance divers hours and days before they were vouchſafed to be let in or heard, to the eternal diſhonour of thoſe Peers, and yet poor ſpirited things they reſent it not: The *Commons* now command all, and though, as I am inform'd, they are ſummon'd thither by the Kings Original Writ but to *conſent* to what the King and his

Great Counſel of Peers (which is the tru Court of Parlement) ſhall reſolve upon; The *Commons* I ſay are now from *Conſenters* become the chiefeſt *Counſellors*, yea *Controulers* of all; nay ſom of this *lower* Houſe *fly* ſo *high* as to term themſelfs *Conquerors*, and though in all conferences with the Lords they ſtand bare before them, yet by a new way of mix'd Committees they carry themſelfs as *Collegues*: Theſe are the men that now have the vogue, and they have made their Priviledges ſo big ſwoln, that they ſeem to have quite ſwallowed up both the Kings Prerogatives, and thoſe of the Lords: Theſe are the Grandees, and *Sages* of the times, though moſt of them have but *crack'd braines* and *crazy fortunes* God wot; Nay ſom of them are *ſuch* arrand Knaves and coxcombs, that 'tis queſtionable whether they more want common honeſty, or common ſenſe; nor know no more what belongs to tru policy then the left leg of a joynt-ſtool: They are grown ſo high a tiptoes, that they ſeem to ſcorn an Act of Amneſtia, or any grace from their King, wheras ſom of them deſerve to be hang'd as oft as they have haires upon their heads; nor have they any more care of the common good of

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England then they have of *Lapland*, ſo they may ſecure their own perſons, and continue their Power now, Authority is ſweet, though it be in Hell.

Thus, my Lord, is *England* now govern'd, ſo that 'tis an eaſie thing to take a proſpect of her ruine if ſhe goes on this pace: The Scot is now the ſwaying man, who is the third time ſtruck into her bowels with a numerous Army: They ſay he hath vow'd never to return till he hath put the *Crown* on the Kings head, the *Scepter* in his hand, and the *ſword* by his ſide; if he do ſo, it will be the beſt thing that ever he did, though ſom think that he will never be able to do *England* as much good as he hath done her hurt; He hath extremely out-witted the Engliſh of late years: And they who were the cauſers of his firſt and laſt coming in, I hold to be the moſt pernicious Enemies that ever this Nation had; for tis probable that *Germany* (viz. *Ponterland* and *Breme*) will be ſooner free of the *Swed*, then *England* of the *Scot*, who will ſtick cloſe unto him like a bur, that he cannot ſhake him off; He is becom already Maſter of the Engliſhmans *ſoul*, by impoſing a Religion upon him, and he may hereafter be maſter of his *body*.

Your Eminence knows there is a periodicall fate hangs over all Kingdoms after such a revolution of time, and rotation of fortunes wheele; the cours of the world hath bin for one Nation, like so many nailes, to thrust out another; But for this Nation, I observe by conference with divers of the saddest and best weighdst men among them, that the same presages foretell their ruine as did the *Israelites* of old, which was a murmuring against their Governors; It is a long time that both *Judges*, *Bishops* and *privy Counsellors* have bin mutter'd at, whereof the first shold be the oracles of the *Law*, the other of the *Gospell*, the last of *State-affaires*, and that our judgments shold acquiesce upon theirs; Here as I am inform'd; 'twas common for evry ignorant *client* to arraign his *Judg*; for evry puny *Curat* to censure the *Bishop*; for evry shallow-brain home-bred fellow to descant upon the results of the Councell Table: and this spirit of contradiction and contumacy hath bin a long time fomenting in the minds of this peeple, infus'd into them principally, by the Puritanicall Faction. Touching the second of the three aforesaid (I mean *Bishops*) they are grown so odious (principally for their large demeanes) among this

this peeple, as the *Templers* were of old, and one may ſay it is a juſt judgment fallen upon them, for they were moſt buſy in demoliſhing *Convents* and *Monaſteries*, as theſe are in deſtroying *Cathedralls* and *Miniſters*; But above all, it hath bin obſerv'd that this peeple hath bin a long time rotten-hearted towards the ſplendor of the Court, the glory of their King, and the old eſtabliſh'd Government of the land: 'Tis true there were a few ſmall leakes ſprung in the great veſſel of the State, (and what veſſel was ever ſo rite but was ſubject to leakes?) but theſe wiſe-akers in ſtopping of one have made a hundred: Yet if this Kings raign were parallell'd to that of Queen *Elizabeth's*, who was the greateſt Minion of a peeple that ever was, one will find that ſhe ſtretch'd the Prerogative much further; In her time as I have read in the Latin Legend of her life, ſom had their hands cut off for only writing againſt her matching with the Duke of *Anjou*, others were hang'd at Tyburn for traducing her government; ſhe pardon'd thrice as many Roman Prieſts as this King did, ſhe paſſ'd divers Monopolies, ſhe kept an Agent at Rome, ſhe ſent her Sergeant at Armes to pluck out a Member then ſitting in the

House of Commons by the eares, and clapt him in prison; she call'd them sawcy fellowes to meddle with her *Prerogative*, or with the government of her household, she mannag'd all forren affaires, specially the warrs with *Ireland* soly by her privy Counsell; yet there was no murmuring at her raign, and the reason I conceave to be, that there was neither Scot or Puritan had then any stroke in *England*.

Yet, for all their disobedience and grumblings against their Liege Lord the *King*, this peeple are exactly obedient to their new *Masters* of the House of Commons, though they sit there but as their *Servants* and entitle themselfs so; and also though in lieu of the small scratches which England might happily have receiv'd before (all which the King had cur'd) these new masters have made such deep gashes in her, and given her such deadly wounds that I believe are incurable.

My Lord, I find by my researches, that there are two great Idolls in this Kingdom, the greatest that ever were, they are the *Parliament* and the *Pulpit*; tis held High treson to speak against the one, and the whole body of *Religion* is nailed unto the other, for there

is

is no devotion here at all but *preaching*, which God wot is little better then prating. The abuse of these two hath bin the source of all the distempers which now raign: touching the latter, it hath serv'd as a subvervient Engin to prop up the power and popularity of the first; these malicious Pulpitmen breath out nothing thence but either sedition, schisme or blasphemy: poor shallow brain'd Scioliſts, they wold question many things in the old Testament, and find Apocrypha in the New: And such is the violence wherewith the minds of men and women are transported towards these Preachmen, and no other part of devotion besides, that in all probability they will in time take a surfet of them: so that give this giddy peeple line enough ther will be no need of *Catholique* Arms to reduce them to the Apostolick Church, they will in time pave the way to it themselves, and be glad to return to *Rome* to find out a Religion again.

There was here before, as I am informed, a kind of a face of a Church, there were some solemnities, venerations and decencies us'd that a man might discover som piety in this peeple; there was a publick Lyturgie that in pithy Pathetical prayers reach'd all

oc-

occasions; the Sacraments were administred with som reverence, their Churches were kept neat and comly; but this nasty race of miscreants have nothing at all of sweetnesse, of piety and devotion in them; 'tis all turn'd to a fatuous kind of zeal after more *learning*, as if Christianity had no sobriety, consistence or end of knowledg at all: These silly things, to imitat the Apostles time, wold have the same form of discipline to govern whole Nations, as it did a chambertull of men in the infancy of the Church, they wold make the same coat serve our Savious at 30. yeers, which fitted him at three: 'Tis incredible how many ugly sorts of heresies they daily hatch, but they are most of them old ones newly furbish'd; they all relate to *Aerius*, a perfect hater of Bishops, because he could not be one himself. The two Sectaries which sway most, are the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, the *Presbyterian* is a spawn of a *Puritan*, and the *Independent* a spawn of the *Presbyterian*: there's but one hop 'twixt the first and a *Jew*, and but half a hop 'twixt the other and an *Infidell*; they are both opposit to Monarchy and Hierarchy; and the latter wold have no Government at all, but a parity and promiscuous confusion, a race of creatures fit only to inhabit Hell:

and

and one of the fruits of this bleſſed Parlement, and of theſe two Sectaries is, that they have made more Jewes and Athieſts then I think there is in all Europe beſides; but truly, my Lord, I think the judgments of Heaven were never ſo viſible in any part of the Earth, as they are now here, for there is Rebell againſt Rebell, Houſe againſt Houſe, Cittie againſt Army, Parlement againſt Scot, but theſe two Sectaries, I mean the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* who were the fire-brands that put this poor Iland firſt in a flame, are now in moſt deadly feud one againſt the other, though they both concur in this to deſtroy government: And if the King had time enough to look only upon them, they would quickly hang, draw, and deſtroy one another.

But indeed all Chriſtian Princes ſhold obſerve the motions and ſucceſſes of theſe two unlucky Incendiaries, for if they ſhold ligue together again, (as they have often plaid faſt and looſe one with another) and prevail here, this Iland wold not terminat their deſigns, they wold puzzle all the world beſides. Their Preachmen ordinarily cry out in the Pulpit, ther is a great work to be done upon earth, for the reforming all mankind, and They are appointed by Heaven to be the

chief

chief Instruments of bringing it about. They have already bin so busie abroad, that (with vast sommes of money) they brought the *Swed* upon the *Dane*, and the very Savages upon the English Cavaliers in *Virginia*; and could they confederat with *Turk*, or *Tartar*, or Hell it self against them, they wold do it: they are monstrously puff'd up with pride, that they stick not to call themselfs *Conquerors*, and one of the chief ringleaders of them, an ignorant home bred kind of *Brewer*, was not ashamed to vant it publiquely in the Commons House, that if he had but 20000. men, he wold undertake to march to *Constantinople*, and pull the *Ottoman* Emperour out of the *Seralio*.

Touching the other grand Idoll the *Parlement*, 'tis true that the primitive constitution of Parlement in this Iland was a wholesom piece of policy, because it kept a good correspondence, and clos'd all ruptures 'twixt the King and his peeple, but this thing they call Parlement now, may rather be term'd a cantle of one, or indeed a *Conventicle* of Schismatiques, rather than a great Counsell; 'tis like a kind of headless Monster, or som estropiated carkas; for ther is neither King nor Prelat, nor scarce the seventh

venth part of Peers and Commons, no not the twelfth part fairly elected; nevertheleſs they draw the peeple, ſpecially this City, like ſo many ſtupid animalls, to adore them.

Yet though this inſtitution of Parlement be a wholſom thing in it ſelf, there is in my judgment a great incongruity in one particular; and I believe it hath bin the cauſe of moſt diſtempers; it is, That the *Burgeſſes* are more in number than the *Knights* of the *Shires*; for the *Knights* of the *Shires* are commonly Gentlemen well born, and bred, and vers'd in the Laws of the Land, as well as forren Governments, (divers of them) but the *Burgeſſes* of Towns are commonly Tradeſmen, and being bred in Corporations they are moſt of them inclining to Puritaniſm, and conſequently to popular Government; Theſe *Burgeſſes* exceeding the *Knights* in number, carry all before them by plurality of Voices, and ſo puzzle all: And now that I have mentioned *Corporations*, I muſt tell your Lordſhip, that the greateſt ſolœciſm in the policy of this Kingdom, is the number of them; eſpecially this monſtrous City, which is compos'd of nothing els but of *Corporations*; and the greateſt errors that this King, ſpecially

ſpecially his Father, committed, was to ſuffer this Town to ſpread her wings ſo wide; for ſhe bears no proportion with the bigneſs of the Iland, but may fit a Kingdom thrice as ſpacious; ſhe engroſſeth and dreins all the wealth and ſtrength of the Kingdom; ſo that I cannot compare *England* more properly than to one of our *Cremona* geeſe, where the cuſtom is to fatten only the heart, but in doing ſo the whole body growes lank.

To draw to a concluſion, This Nation is in a moſt ſad and deſperat condition, that they deſerve to be pitied, and preſerved from ſinking, and having caſt the preſent ſtate of things and all intereſts into an equal balance, I find, my Lord, ther be three ways to do it, one good, and two bad.

1. The firſt of the bad ones is the *Sword*, which is one of the ſcourges of heaven, eſpecially the *Civill ſword*.

2. The ſecond bad one is the *Treaty*, which they now offer the King in that ſmall Iſland wher he hath bin kept Captif ſo long, (a which quality the world will account him ſtill while he is detain'd there) and by that Treaty to bind him as faſt as they can, and not truſt him at all.

3. The

3. The good way is, in a free confiding brave way (Engliſhmen-like) to ſend for their King to *London*, where City and Country ſhold Petition him to ſummon a new and free full Parlement, which he may do as juſtly as ever he did thing in his life, theſe men having infring'd as well all the eſſentiall Priviledges of Parlement, as every puntillio of it, for they have often riſen up in a confuſion without adjournment, they had two Speakers at once, they have moſt perjuriouſly and beyond all imagination betrayed the truſt both King and Country repos'd in them, ſubverted the very fundamentals of all Law, and plung'd the whole Kingdom in this bottomleſs gulf of calamities: another Parlement may haply do ſom good to this languiſhing Iſland, and cure her convulſions, but for theſe men that arrogat to themſelfs the name of Parlement (by a local puntillio only becauſe they never ſtir'd from the place where they have bin kept together by meer force) I find them by their actions to be ſo pervers, ſo irrational and refractory, ſo far given over to a reprobat ſenſe, ſo fraught with rancor, with an irreconcileable malice and thirſt of bloud, that *England* may well deſpaire to be heal'd

by

by such Phlebotomists, or Quack-salvers; besides they are so full of scruples, apprehensions, and jealousies proceeding from black guilty souls, and gawl'd consciences, that they will do nothing but chop Logic with their King, and spin out time to continue their power, and evade punishment, which they think is unavoidable if ther shold be a free-Parlement.

Touching the King he comports himself with an admired temper'd equanimity, he invades and o're-masters them more and more in all his answers by strength of reson, though he have no soul breathing to consult withall, but his own Genius: he gains wonderfully upon the hearts and opinion of his peeple, and as the Sun useth to appear bigger in winter, and at his declension in regard of the interposition of certain meteors 'twixt the eye of the beholder and the object, so this King being thus o're-clouded and declined, shines far more glorious in the eyes of his people; and certainly these high morall vertues of constancy, courage and wisdom come from above; and no wonder, for Kings as they are elevated above all other peeple and stand upon higher ground, they sooner receive the inspirations of heaven;

ven; nor doth he only by ſtrength of reaſon out-wit them, but he wooes them by gentleneſſe and manſuetude; as the Gentleman of *Paris* who having an Ape in his houſe that had taken his only child out of the cradle, and dragged him up to the ridge of the houſe, the parent with ruthful heart charmed the Ape by fair words and other blandiſhments to bring him ſoftly down; which he did; *England* may be ſaid to be now juſt upon ſuch a precipice, ready to have her braines daſh'd out; and I hope theſe men will not be worſe natur'd then that brute animal, but will ſave her.

Thus have I given your *Eminence* a rough account of the ſtate of this poor and pittifully deluded peeple, which I will perfect when I ſhall come to your preſence, which I hope will be before this Autumnal Equinox; I thought to have ſojourn'd here longer, but that I am grown weary of the clime, for I fear there's the other two ſcourges of heaven that menace this Iſland, I mean the *famin* and *peſtilence*, eſpecially this *City*, for their prophanneſs, rebellion, and ſacriledge: It hath bin a talk a great while whether *Anti-Chriſt* be come to the world or no, I am ſure *Anti-Jeſus*, which is worſe, is among

this people, for they hold all veneration, though voluntary proceeding from the inward motions of a ſweet devoted ſoul, and cauſing an outward genuflection, to be ſuperſtitious, inſomuch that one of the Synodical Saints here printed and pubiſhed a Book entitling it againſt *Jeſu Worſhip*.

So in the profoundeſt poſture of reverence I kiſſe your *veſt*, as being,

London this 12. of *Auguſt*, 1647.

My Lord,

Your Eminences moſt humbly devoted,

F. H.

A

NOCTURNAL PROGRES,

OR

A PERAMBULATION

Of most

COUNTREYS

IN

CHRISTENDOM,

Perform'd in one night by ſtrength of the *Imagination*;

Which progreſſe terminats in theſe *North-Weſt* Iles,

And declares the woful Confuſions They are involv'd at preſent.

The progreſs of the Soul by an uſuall *DREAM.*

IT was in the dead of a long Winter night, when no eyes were open but *Watchmens* and *Centinels*, that I was fallen ſoundly aſleep, the *Cinq-out-Ports* were ſhut up cloſer then uſually, for my ſenſes were ſo trebly lock'd, that the Moon, had ſhe deſcended from her watry Orb, might have done much more to me then ſhe did to *Endymion* when he lay ſnoaring upon the brow of *Latmus* Hill; nay, (be it ſpoken without prophaneneſſe) if a rib had bin taken out of me that night, to have made a new mo... of a woman, I ſhold hardly have felt it.

Yet, though the Couſin German of death had ſo ſtrongly ſeiz'd thus upon the exterior parts of this poor Tabernacle of fleſh, my inward parts were never more actif, and fuller

of employments then they were that night.

Pictus imaginibus, formisq; fugacibus adstat
Morpheus, *& variis fingit nova vultibus ora.*

Methought my soul made a sally abroad into the world, and fetch'd a vast compas; she seem'd to soar up and slice the air to cross seas, to clammer up huge Hills, and never rested till she had arriv'd at the *Antipodes*: Now som of the most judicious Geometricians and Chorographers hold that the whole Mass of the Earth being round like the rest of her fellow Elements, ther be places, and poizing parts of the Continent, ther be Peninsulas, Promontories and Ilands upon the other face of the Earth that correspond and concenter with all those Regions and Iles that are upon this superficies which we read, Countries that symbolize with them in qualities, in temperature of air and clime, as well as in nature of soil; The Inhabitants also of those places which are so perpendicularly opposit, do sympathize one with another in disposition, complexions and humors, though the Astronomers wold have their East to be our West, and so all things *vice versa* in point of position, which *division* of the Hea-

Heaven is onely *mans* inſtitution.

But to give an account of the ſtrange progreſſe my ſoul made that night; the firſt Country ſhe lighted on was a very low flat Country, and it was ſuch an odde amphibious Country, being ſo indented up and down with Rivers and arms of the ſea, that I made a queſtion whether I ſhold call it Water or Land; yet though the *Sea* be invited and uſher'd in into ſom places, he is churliſtly pen'd out in ſom other, ſo that though he foam and ſwell, and appear as high Walls hard-by, yet they keep him out, maugre all his roaring and ſwelling.

As I wandred up and down in this Watry Region, I might behold from a ſtreight long Dike wheron I ſtood, a ſtrange kind of Forteſt, for the trees mov'd up and down; they look'd afar off as if they had bin blaſted by thunder; for they had no leafs at all; but making a nearer approach unto them, I found they were a nomberleſſe company of Ship-Maſts, and before them appear'd a great Town (*Amſterdam*) incorporated up and down with Water; As I mus'd with my ſelf upon the ſight of all this, I concluded, that the Inhabitants of that Country were notable induſtrious people, who could give Law ſo

to the angry *Ocean*, and occupie those places where the great *Leviathan* shold tumble and take his pastime in; As my thought ran thus, I met with a man, whom I conjectur'd to be 'twixt a Marchant and a Mariner, his salutation was so homely; the air also was so foggy, that methought it stuck like cobwebs in his Mustachos; and he was so dull in point of motion, as if the bloud in his veines had bin half frozen: I began to mingle words with him, and to expostulat somthing about that Country and people; and then I found a great deal of down-right civilities in him: He told me that they were the only men who did miracles of late years; Those innumerable piles of stones you see before you in such comly neat frabriques, is a place (said he) that from a Fish-*Market* in effect is come to be one of the greatest *Marts* in this part of the world, which hath made her swel thrice bigger then she was 50. years ago; and as you behold this floating Forrest of Masts before her mole, so if you could see the foundations of her houses, you shold see another great Forrest, being rear'd from under-ground upon fair piles of timber, which if they chance to sink in this Marshy soil, we have an art to screw them up again. We

have

have for 70. years and above without any intermiſſion, except a ſhort-liv'd truce that once was made, wraſtled with one of the greateſt Potentates upon Earth, and born up ſtoutly againſt him, gramercy our two next *neighbour Kings*, and their *Reaſon of State*, with the advantage of our *ſituation*. We have *fought* our ſelfs into a *free-State*, and now quite out of that ancient allegeance we ow'd him; and though we pay twenty times more in *taxes* of all ſorts then we did to him, yet we are contented: We have turn'd *war* into a *Trade*, and that which uſeth to *beggar* others, hath *benefited* us: Beſides, we have bin and are ſtill the rendevous of moſt diſcontented Subjects, when by the motions of unquiet conſciences in points of Religion, or by the fury of the ſword, they are forc'd to quit their own Countreys, who bring their arts of Manufacture, and moveables, hither; Inſomuch that our *Lombards* are full of their goods, and our banks ſuperabound with their *gold* and *ſilver* which they bring hither in *ſpecie*.

To ſecure our ſelfs, and cut the Enemy more work, and to engage our Confederats in a war with him, we have kindled fires in every corner, and now that they are together

gether by the Eares, we have bin content lately, being long woo'd thereunto, to make a peace with that King to whom we once acknowledged vaſſalage; which King out of a height of ſpirit, hath ſpent 500. times more upon us for our reduction, then all our Country is worth; But now he hath bin well contented to renounce and abjure all claimes and rights of Soverainity over us; In ſo much, that being now without an enemy, we hope in a ſhort time to be maſters of all the comerce in this part of the world, and to eat our Neighbours out of trade in their own Commodities: We fear nothing but that exces of Wealth, and a ſurfet of eaſe may make us careles and breed quarrells among our ſelfs, and that our Generall, being married to a great Kings daughter may ——.

Here he ſuddenly broke the threed of his diſcourſe, and got haſtily away, being haul'd by a ſhip that was ſailing hard by.

Hereupon my ſoul took wing again, and cut her way through that foggy condens'd aire, till ſhe lighted on a fair ſpacious, cleare Continent, a generous and rich Soile mantled up and downe with large woods, where, as I rang'd to and fro, I might ſee divers

fair

faire Houſes, Townes, Palaces and Caſtles, looking like ſo many *Carkaſes*, for no humane ſoul appear'd in them; methought I felt my heart melting within me in a ſoft reſentment of the caſe of ſo gallant a Countrey, and as I ſtood at amaze, and in a kind of aſtoniſhment, a goodly perſonage makes towards me, whom both for his comportment, and countenance, I perceiv'd to be of a finer mould then that companion I had met withall before: by the trace of his looks I gueſſed he might be ſom Nobleman that had bin ruin'd by ſom diſaſter: having acoſted him with a fitting diſtance, he began in a maſculin ſtrong winded language full of aſpirations and tough colliſion of Conſonants, to tell me as followeth: Sir, I find you are a ſtranger in this Countrey, becauſe you ſtand ſo agaſt at the devaſtations of ſuch a fair piece of the Continent, then know Sir, becauſe I beleeve you are curious to carry away with you the cauſes thereof, that theſe ruthfull objects which you behold, are the effects of a long lingring war, and of the fury of the Sword, a cruentous civill War that hath rag'd here above thirty yeares: one of the grounds of it was the infortunate undertaking of a *Prince*, who liv'd not far

off

off in an affluence of all earthly felicity; he had the greateſt *Lady* to his *wife*, the beſt *purſe* of money, the faireſt Stable of *horſe*, and choiceſt *Library* of books of any other of his neighbour Princes. But being by deſperat and aſpiring counſells put upon a *Kingdom*, while he was catching at the ſhadow of a Crown, he loſt the ſubſtance of all his own ancient poſſeſſions: by the many powerfull alliances he had (which was the cauſe he was pitched upon) the fewd continued long; for among others a *Northern* King took advantage to ruſh in, who did a world of miſchiefs, but in a few yeers that *King* and Hee found their graves in their own ruins neer upon the ſame time; but now, may heaven have due thanks for it, there is a peace concluded, a peace which hath bin 14. long yeers a moulding, and will I hope, be ſhortly put in execution; yet 'tis with this fatall diſadvantage, that the ſaid *Northern* people, beſides a maſſe of ready money we are to give them, are to have firme footing, and a warm neſt ever in this Countrey hereafter, ſo that I fear we ſhall hear from them too often: upon theſe words this noble perſonage fetch'd a deep ſigh, but in ſuch a generous manner that he

ſeem'd

ſeem'd to break and check it before it came halfe forth.

Thence my ſoul taking her flight o're divers huge and horrid cacuminous mountaines (the *Alpes*) at laſt I found my ſelf in a great populous Town (*Naples*) but her buildings were miſerably battered up and down, ſhe had a world of Palaces, Caſtles, Convents and goodly Churches: as I ſtepped out of curioſity into one of them, upon the Weſt ſide there was a huge Grate, where a creature all in white beckned at me, making my approach to the Grate, I found her to be a Nun, a lovely creature ſhe was, for I could not diſtinguiſh which was whiter, her *hue* or her *habit*, which made me remember (though in a dream my ſelf) that ſaying, *If Dreams and wiſhes had been tru, there had not been found a tru maid to make a Nun of, ever ſince a Cloyſter'd life began firſt among women*; I asked her the reaſon how ſo many ugly devaſtations ſhold befall ſo beautifull a City, ſhe in a dolorous gentle tone, and ruthfull accents, the teares trickling down her cheeks like ſo many pearles, (ſuch pearly teares that wold have diſſolv'd a Diamond) ſobb'd out unto me this ſpeech: Gentle Sir, 'tis far beyond any expreſſions of mine,

and

and indeed beyond humane imagination to conceive the late calamities which have befallen this faire though infortunat City, a pernicious popular Rebellion broke out here upon a sudden into most horrid barbarismes, a Fate that hangs over most rich popular places that swim in luxe and plenty; but touching the grounds thereof, one may say that rebellion entred into this City, as sin first entred into the world by an *apple*: For our *King* now in his great extremities having almost halfe the world banding against him, and putting but a small tax upon a basket of fruit to last only for a time, this *fruit-tax* did put the peeples *teeth* so on edge, that it made them *gnash* against the Government, and rush into Armes; but they are sensible now of their own follies, for I think never any place suffered more in so short a time: the civill combustions abroad in other Kingdomes may be said to be but small squibs compar'd to those horrid flakes of fire which have rag'd here, and much adoe we had to keep our *Vestall fire* free from the fury of it: in lesse then the revolution of a yeer it consum'd above fourscore thousand soules within the walls of this City; But 'tis not the first time of forty, that this luxurious

curious fooliſh peeple hath ſmarted for their inſurrections and inſolencies, and that this mad *horſe* hath o'rethrown his Rider, and drawn a worſe upon his back; who inſtead of a ſaddle, put a pack-ſaddle and Panniers upon him: but indeed the voluptuouſneſſe of this peeple was grown ripe for the judgement of heaven.

She was then beginning to expoſtulat with me about the ſtate of my Country, and I had a mighty mind to ſatisfie her, for I could have correſponded with her in the relation of as ſtrange things, but the Lady *Abadeſſe* calling her away, ſhe departed in an inſtant, obedience ſeem'd to be ther ſo preciſe and punctual.

I ſteer'd my courſe thence through a moſt delicious Country to another City that lay in the very boſom of the Sea, *(Venice)* ſhe was at firſt nothing els but a kind of poſſie made up of dainty green Hillocks, tied together by above 400. bridges, and ſo coagulated into a curious City; though ſhe be eſpous'd to *Neptune* very ſolemnly once every yeer, yet ſhe ſtill reſerves her maydenhead, and bears the title of the *Virgin City* in that part of the world; But I found her tugging mainly with a huge *Giant* that wold raviſh her;

her; He hath ſhrewdly ſet on her skirts, and a great ſhame it is, that ſhe is not now aſſiſted by her Neighbours, and that *they* ſhold be together by the ears when they ſhold do ſo neceſſary a work, conſidering how that great *Giant* is their common Enemy; and hath lately vow'd *ſeven yeers* wars againſt her; ſpecially conſidering, that if he comes once to *raviſh* her, he will quickly *ruin* her ſaid Neighbours, She (to her high honor be it ſpoken) being their only rampart againſt the incurſion of the ſaid *Giant*, and by conſequence their greateſt ſecurity.

From this *Maiden* City, mee thought, I was in a trice carried over a long gulf, and ſo through a Midland Sea, into another Kingdom, *(Spain)* where I felt the Clime hotter by ſome Degrees; a rough-hew'n ſoile, for the moſt part, it was full of craggy barren hills; but where there were valleys and water enough, the country was extraordinarily fruitful, whereby nature (it ſeems) made her a compenſation for the ſterility of the reſt. Yet notwithſtanding the hardſhip of the ſoyl, I found her full of Abbeys, Monaſteries, Hermitages, Convents, Churches, and other places of devotion; as I rov'd there a while, I encountred a grave man in a long

black cloak, by the fashion whereof, and by the brimms of his hat, I perceived him to be a *Jesuit*; I clos'd with him, and question'd him about that Country: He told me the King of that Country was the greatest Potentat of that part of the world; and, to draw power to a greater unity, they of our *Order* could be well contented, that he were universall Head over *Temporalls*, because 'tis most probable to be effected by him, as we have already one universall Head over *Spiritualls*: This is the Monark of the Mines, I mean of Gold and Silver, who furnishes all the world, but most of all his own enemies with mony, which mony foments all the wars in this part of the world: Never did any earthly monark thrive so much in so short a tract of time, But of late yeers he hath been ill-favouredly shaken by the revolt and utter defection of two sorts of Subjects, who are now in actual arms against him on both sides of him at his own doors. Ther hath bin also a long deadly feud 'twixt the next tramontan Kingdom *(France)* and him, though the *Q.* that rules there be his own sister, an unnaturall odious thing: But it seems God Almighty hath a quarrel of late yeers with all earthly Potentats; for in so short a time

ther never happen'd ſuch ſtrange ſhocks and revolutions: The great Emperour of *Ethiopia* hath bin outed, he and all his children by a petty companion: The King of *China*, a greater Emperour than he, hath loſt almoſt all that huge Monarchy by the incurſion of the *Tartar*, who broke ore the wall upon him: The grand *Turk* hath bin ſtrangled, with 30. of his Concubines; The Emperour of *Muſcovy* hath bin content to beg his life of his own vaſſals, and to ſee before his face divers of his chief Officers hack'd to pieces, and their heads cut off and ſteep'd in ſtrong water, to make them burn more bright in the market place. Beſides the above mentioned, this *King* hath alſo divers enemies more, yet he bears up againſt them all indifferently well, though with infinit expence of treaſure, and the *Church*, ſpecially our *Society*, hath ſtuck cloſe unto him in theſe his exigents: whence may be inferr'd, that let men repine as long as they will at the poſſeſſions of the Church, *they are the beſt anchors to a State in a ſtorm*, and in time of need to preſerve it from ſinking; beſides, acts of charity wold be quite loſt among men, did not the wealth of the Church keep life in them: Hereupon drawing a huge pair

of

of Beads from under his cloak, he began to ask me of my Religion; I told him I had a long journy to go, so that I could not stay to wait on him longer; so we parted, and me thought I was very glad to be rid of him so well.

My soul then made another flight over an Assembly of hideous high hills, *(Pyreneys)* and lighted under another Clime, on a rich and copious Country *(France)* resembling the form of a Lozenge, but me thought, I never saw so many poor people in my life; I encountred a Pesan, and asked him what the reason was, that ther should be so much *poverty* in a Country wher ther was so much *plenty*: Sir, they keep the Commonalty poor in pure policy here, for being a people, as the world observes us to be, that are more humerous than others, and that love variety and change, if we were suffered to be pamper'd with wealth, we wold ever and anon rise up in tumults, and so this Kingdom shold never be quiet, but subject to intestine broils, and so to the hazard of any invasion: But ther was of late a devillish *Cardinal*, whose *humour* being as sanguin as his *habit*, and working upon the weaknes of his Master, hath made us not only poor, but stark beg-

gars, and we are like to continue so by an eternal war, wherein he hath plung'd this poor Kingdom, which war must be maintained with our very vital spirits: but as dejected and indigent as we are, yet upon the death of that ambitious Cardinal, we had risen up against *This*, who hath the Vogue now, (with whom he hath left his principles) had not the fearful example of our next transmarin Western neighbours (the *English*) and the knowledg we have of a worse kind of slavery, of those endles arbitrary taxes, and horrid confusions they have fool'd themselfs lately into, utterly deterr'd us, though *we* have twenty times more reason to rise then ever *they* had: yet our great City (*Paris*) hath shew'd her teeth, and gnash'd them ill-favouredly of late, but we find she hath drawn water only for her own Mill, we fare little the better, yet we hope it will conduce to peace, which hath bin so long in agitation.

I cannot remember how I parted with that Peasan, but in an instant I was landed upon a large Island, and methought, 'twas the temperat'st Region I had bin in all the while (*England*;) the *heat* of the Sun ther is as harmless as his *light*, the evening *serenis* are

are as wholſom ther as the morning *dew*; the *Dog-daies* as innocuous as any of the two *Equinoxes*. As I rang'd to and fro that fair Iſland, I ſpyed a huge City (*London*) whoſe length did far exceed her latitude, but nether for length or latitude did ſhe ſeem to bear any politicall *proportion* with that *Iſland*: ſhe look'd, methought, like the *Jeſuits* hat whom I had met withall before, whoſe brimms were bigger then the crown, or like a peticoat, whoſe fringe was longer then the body. As I did caſt my eyes upwards, methought I diſcern'd a ſtrange inſcription in the aire which hung juſt over the midſt of that City, written in ſuch huge viſible characters, that any one might have read it, which was this: *woe be to the bloudy City.*

Hereupon a reverend *Biſhop* preſented himſelf to my view, his gray haires, and grave aſpect ſtruck in me an extraordinary reverence of him: ſo performing thoſe complements which were fitting, I asked him of the condition of the place, he in a ſubmiſs ſad tone, with clouds of melancholy waving up and down his looks, told me; Sir this Iſland was reputed few years ſince to have bin in the compleateſt condition of hap-

pineſs of any part on earth, inſomuch that ſhe was repin'd at for her proſperity and peace by all her neighbours who were plung'd in war round about her, but now ſhe is fallen into as deep a gulf of miſery, and ſervitude, as ſhe was in a height of felicity & freedom before: Touching the grounds of this change, I cannot impute it to any other then to a ſurfet of happineſs; now, *there is no ſurfet ſo dangerous as that of happineſſe:* Ther are ſuch horrid diviſions here, that if they were a foot in hell, they were able to deſtroy the Kingdom of Satan; truly Sir, ther are crep'd in more opinions among us about matters of Religion, then the Pagans had of old of the *Summum bonum*, which *Varro* ſaith were 300. the underſtandings of poor men were never ſo puzzled and diſtracted; a great while there were two oppoſit powers (*King* and *Parlement*) who ſwayed here in a kind of equality that people knew not whom to obey, many thouſands complyed with both, as the men of *Calecut* who adore God and the Devil, *Tantum Squantum*, as it is in the Indian language) They adore the one for *love*, the other for *fear:* ther is a monſtrous kind of wild liberty here that ever was upon earth; That

which

which was complained of as a ſtalking horſe to draw on our miſeries at firſt, is now only in practice, which is meer *arbitrary* rule; for now both *Law*, *Religion* and *Allegiance* are here arbitrary: Touching the laſt, 'tis quite loſt, 'tis permitted that any may prate, preach or print what they will in derogation of their annointed King: which word *King* was once a Monoſyllable of ſom weight in this Ile, but 'tis as little regarded now as the word *Pope* (among ſom) which was alſo a mighty Monoſyllable once among us: the rule of the Law is, that the King can *do* no wrong, ther is a contrary rule now crept in, that the King can *receive* no wrong; and truly Sir, 'tis a great judgement both upon *Prince* and *people*; upon the *one*, that the love of ſo many of his vaſſals ſhold be ſo alienated from him; upon the *other*, that their hearts ſhold be ſo poyſon'd, and certainly 'tis the effect of an ill ſpirit; both the one and the other in all probability tend to the ruine of this Kingdom.

But now Sir, (becauſe I ſee you are ſo attentive, and ſeem to be much mov'd at this Diſcourſe) as I have diſcover'd unto you the general cauſe of our calamities, which was not only a *ſatiety* but a *ſurfet* of happineſſe,

ſo I will deſcend now to a particular cauſe of them; it was a Northern Nation (*Scot*) that brought theſe cataracts of miſchiefs upon us; and you know the old ſaying,

Out of the North
All ill comes forth.

Far be it from me to charge the whole Nation herewith; no, but onely ſom pernicious Inſtruments that had inſinuated themſelfs, and incorporated among us, and ſway'd both in our Court and Counſels: They had a hand in every Monopoly; they had out of our Exchequer, and Cuſtoms near upon 400000. Crowns in yearly Penſions, *viis & modis*; yet they could not be content, but they muſt puzzle the peace and policy of this Church and State: and though they are a peeple of a differing *Genius*, differing Laws, Cuſtoms, and Manners unto us, yet for matter of conſcience they wold bring our necks into their yoak, as if they had a greater talent of reaſon, and clearer illuminations, as if they underſtood Scripture better, and were better acquainted with God Almighty then *we*, who brought them firſt from Paganiſme to *Chriſtianity*, and alſo to be reformed *Chriſtians*: but it ſeems, matters have

have *little* thriven with them; nay the visible hand of heaven hath bin heavily upon them divers waies since they did lift *their* hands against their *native King*; For notwithstanding the vast summs they had hence, yet is the generality of them as beggarly as ever they were; besides, the Civil Sword hath rag'd ther as furiously as here, and did as much execution among them. Moreover the *Pestilence* hath bin more violent, and sweeping in their chief Town (*Edenburgh*) then ever it was since they were a peeple. And now lately ther's the notablest dishonour befaln them that possibly could light upon a Nation, in that 7000. of ours shold upon even ground encounter, kill, slay, rout and utterly discomfit thrice as many of theirs, though as well appointed and arm'd as men could be: And truly Sir, the advantages that accrue to this Nation are not a few by that exploit; For of late years that Nation was cryed up abroad to be a more Martial peeple then we, and to have baffled us in open field in divers traverses: besides, I hope a small matter will pay now their Arrerages here, and elsewhere; but principally, I hope they will not be so busie hereafter in our Court and Counsel, as they have bin formerly. Ano-

Another cauſe of our calamity is a ſtrange race of peeple (the *Puritans*) ſprung up among our ſelfs, who were confederat with thoſe of the North; they wold make Gods Houſe cleane, and by putting out the candle of all ancient learning and knowledge, they would ſweep it only by the light of an *Ignis fatuus*: but 'tis viſibly found that they have brought much more rubbage into it, and wheras in reforming this houſe, they ſhold rather find out the *great* that is loſt, they go about to take away the *mite* that's left, and ſo put *Chriſts* Spouſe to live on meer almes: True it is, there is a kind of *zeal* that burns in them, (and I could wiſh there were ſo much *piety*) but this *zeal* burns with too much violence and preſumption, which is no good ſymptom of *ſpirituall* health, it being a rule, that as the naturall heat, ſo the ſpirituall ſhold be moderat, els it commonly turns to a frenzy, and that is the thing which cauſeth ſuch a giddineſſe and diſtraction in their braines; This (proceeding from the ſuggeſtions of an ill ſpirit) puffs them up with ſo much ſpirituall pride; for the Devill is ſo cunning a Wraſtler, that he oftentimes lifts men up to give them the greater fall: they think they have an inerring ſpirit, and

that

that their *Diall* muſt needs go tru, howſoever the Sun goes: they wold make the *Goſpell*, as the *Caddies* make the *Alcharan*, to decide all civill temporall matters under the large notion of *ſlander*, whereof *they* forſooth to be the Judges, and ſo in time to hook in all things to their *Claſſis*: I believe if theſe men were diſſected when they are dead, they would be a great deale of Quickſilver found in their braines.

Erph Superi, quantum mortalia pectora cæca
Noctis habent! ——

But I could pitty the *giddineſſe of their braines*, had they not ſo much *gaul in their breaſts*, were they not ſo thirſting after blood, ſo full of poiſon and irreconcileable malice; in ſo much that it may be very well thought, theſe men are a kin to that race which ſprung out of the Serpents teeth: theſe are they which have ſeduced our great Counſell, and led this fooliſh City by the noſe to begin and foment this ugly War, inſomuch that if thoſe numberleſs bodies which have periſh'd in theſe commotions, were caſt into her ſtreets, and before her doores, many thouſand Citizens noſes would bleed of pure guilt.

Not

Not to hold you long, theſe are the men who have baffled common *ſence*, blaſted the beams of *nature*, and offered violence to *reaſon* it ſelf; theſe are they who have infatuated moſt of the peeple of this Iland; ſo that whereas in times paſt, ſom call'd her the Ile of *Angels*, ſhe may be term'd now the Ile of *Gulls*, or more properly the Ile of *Doggs*, or rather indeed the Ile of *Wolfs*, there is ſuch a true *Lycanthrepy* com in among us: I am loth to call her the Iland of *Devills*, though ſhe hath bin branded ſo abroad.

To conclude Sir, the glory of this Iſle is quite blaſted; 'tis tru they ſpeak of peace, but *while the King ſpeakes to them of it, they make themſelves ready for battle*; I much fear, that *Ixion*-like we imbrace a cloud for peace, out of which there will iſſue out *Centaures*, and *Monſters*, as ſprung out of that cloud.

Touching that ancient'ſt holy *Order* whereof you ſee me to be; I well hoped, that in regard they pretended to *reforme* things only, they wold not have quite extirpated, but *regulated* only this *Order*: it had bin enough to *brayle* our wings, not to have ſear'd them: to have lopp'd and prun'd, not

to

to have deſtroyed root and branch of that ancient tree which was planted by the hands of the Apoſtles themſelfs: In fine Sir, we are a loſt peeple, 'tis no other *Dedalus*, but the high *Deity* of heaven can clue us out of this labyrinth of confuſions, can extricat us out of this maze of miſeries: the Philoſopher ſaith, 'tis impoſſible for man to quadrat a *Circle*; ſo 'tis not in the power of man, but of God alone, to make a loyall Subject of a Round head: Among other things that ſtrangers report of this Iland, they ſay that *Winter here hath too many teares in his eyes*: Helas Sir, 'tis impoſſible he ſhold have too many now, to bewaile the lamentable baſe ſlavery, that a free-born peeple is com to: and though they are grown ſo tame as to kiſſe the rod that whips them, yet their *Taskmaſters* will not throw it into the fire.

Truly Sir, as my tongue is too feeble to expreſſe our miſeries, ſo the plummet of the beſt underſtanding is too ſhort to fadom the depth of them.

With this, the grave Venerable Biſhop giving me his benediction, fetcht ſuch a ſigh, that would have rended a rock aſunder; and ſuddenly vaniſh'd (methought) out

of

out of my ſight up towards Heaven. I preſently after awoke about the dawnings of the day, when one could hardly diſcern Dog from Wolf; and my ſoul, my *Animula vagula blandula*, being re-entred through the Horn gate of ſleep into her former manſion, half tyr'd after ſo long a Peregrination; and having rub'd my eyes, diſtended my limms, and return'd to a full expergefaction, I began to call my ſelf to account touching thoſe world of objects my fancy had repreſented unto me that night; and when by way of reminiſcence I fel to examin and ruminate upon them; Lord, what a maſſe of *Ideas* ran in my head! but when I call'd to mind the laſt Countrey my ſoul wandred in, methought I felt my heart like a lump of lead within me, when I conſidered how pat every circumſtance might be applyed to the preſent condition of *England*: I was meditating with my ſelf what kind of dream this might be; wherupon I thought upon the common diviſion that Philoſophers make of dreams, that they are either

Di-

{Divine,
Diabolicall,
Naturall, or
Humane.

For the firſt, they are *Viſions* more properly or *Revelations*, wherof ther are divers examples in the holy Oracles of God, but the puddled cranies of *my brain* are not rooms clean enough to entertain ſuch: Touching the ſecond kind, which come by the impulſes of the Devil, I have heard of divers of them, as when one did riſe up out of his ſleep, and fetcht a poyniard to ſtab his bed-fellow, which he had done, had he not bin awake; Another went to the next chamber abed to his mother, and wold have raviſh'd her; but I thank God this dream of mine was not of that kind.

Touching the third ſpecies of dreams; which are *naturall* dreams, they are according to the humor which predominats; if Melancholy ſway, we dream of black darkſom devious places; if Phlegm, of waters; if Choler, of frayes, fightings, and troubles; if Sanguin predominat, we dream of green fields, gardens, and other pleaſant repreſentations;

tations; and the Physitian comes often to know the quality of a disease by the nocturnal objects of the patients fancy.

Humane dreams the last sort relate to the actions of the day past, or of the day following, and som representations are clear and even; others are amphibious, mongrell, distorted and squalid objects, (according to the species of trees over troubled waters:) and the object is clear or otherwise, according to the tenuity or grosseness of the vapors which ascend from the ventricle up to the brain.

Touching *my Dream*, I think it was of this last kind; for I was discoursing of, and condoling the sad distempers of our times the day before: I pray God som part of it prove not propheticall; for, although the Frenchman sayeth, *Songes sont Mensonges*, dreames are delusions, and that they turn to contraries, yet the Spaniard hath a saying,

Et ciego sonnava que via
Y era lo que querria.

The blind man dreamt he did see light,
The thing he wish'd for happen'd right.

Insomuch that some Dreams oftentimes prove

prove true; as S. *Auſtin* makes mention of a rich Merchant in *Milan*, who being dead, one of his Creditors comes to his ſon to demand ſuch a ſum of money which he had lent his father; the ſon was confident 'twas paid, but not finding the Creditors Receipt, he was impleaded and like to be caſt in the Sute, had not his fathers Ghoſt appeared to him, and directed him to the place where the Acquittance was, which he found the next day accordingly. *Galen* ſpeaks of one that dreamt he had a wooden leg, and the next day he was taken with a dead Palſie in one whole ſide. Such a Dream was that of *William Rufus*, when he thought he had felt a cold guſt paſſing through his bowels; and the next day he was ſlain in the guts, by the glance of an arrow, in new Forreſt, a place where he and his Father had committed ſo many Sacrileges. I have read in *Artimedorus*, of a woman that dreamt ſhe had ſeen the pictures of three faces in the Moone like her ſelf, and ſhe was brought to bed of three daughters a little after, who all died within the compas of a moneth. Another dreamt, that *Xanthus* water ran red, and the next day he fell a ſpitting of blood.

To this I will add another fore-telling

Dream, whereof I have read, which was thus: two young Gentlemen being travelling abroad in ſtrange Countreyes, and being come to a great towne, the one lay far in the Citie, the other in an Hoſtry without the wall in the Suburbs: he in the City did dream in the dead of night, that his friend which he had left in the Suburbs ruſh'd into his chamber panting and blowing, being purſued by others; he dreamt ſo againe, and the third time he might ſee his friends Ghoſt appearing at his beds ſide with bloud trickling down his throat, and a Poyniard in his breſt, telling him, Dear friend, I am come now to take my laſt farewell of thee, and if thou riſe betimes, thou ſhalt meet me in the way going to be buryed; the next morning his friend going with his Hoſt towards the Inn in the Suburbs wher he left his friend, they met with a Cart laden with dung in the way, which being ſtaid and ſearch'd, the dead body was found naked in the dung.

I will conclude with a notable Dream that *Oſman* the Great Turk had not many years ſince, a few days before he was murthered by his Janizaries, 1623. He dreamt, that being mounted upon a huge Camel, he could

could not make him go, though he ſwitch'd and ſpur'd him never ſo much; at laſt the Camel overthrew him, and being upon the ground, only the bridle was left in his hand, but the body of the Camel was vaniſhed: the *Mufti* not being illuminated enough to interpret this Dream, a *Santon* who was a kind of Idiot, told him, the Camel repreſented the *Ottoman Empire*, which he not being able to govern, he ſhold be o'rethrown, which two dayes after proved tru.

By theſe, and a cloud of examples more, we may conclude, that Dreams are not altogether impertinent, but ſomthing may be gathered out of them; though the application and meaning of them be denyed to man, unleſs by ſpecial illumination.

Somnia *venturi ſunt præſcia ſæpe dieî.*
By Dreams we oft may gueſſe
At the next dayes ſucceſſe.

THus have you a rough account of a rambling *Noctivagation* up and down the world: I may boldly ſay, that neither Sir *John Mandevile*, or *Coryat* himſelf travell'd more in ſo ſhort a time: whence you ſee what nimble Poſtillions the *Animal Spirits*

 are;

are; and with what incredible celerity the *imagination* can croſſe the *Line*, cut the *Tropiques*, and paſs to the other *Hemiſphere* of the world; which ſhews that humane ſouls have ſomthing in them of the Almighty, that their faculties have a kind of ubiquitary freedom, though the body be never ſo under reſtraint, as the Authors is.

They erre as much who think all Dreams falſe,
As They who think Them alwayes tru.

In the priſon
of the Fleet 3. Idus
Decembris
1645.

F. H.

A VINDICATION OF HIS MAJESTY.

Touching a *Letter* He writ to *Rome* from the Court of *Spain*, in *Anſwer* to a *Letter* which Pope *Gregory* the 15th. had ſent Him upon paſſing the *Diſpenſation* for concluding the Match with the *Infanta*.

Which Letter Mr. *Pryn* mention's in his Book call'd the *Popiſh Royal Favorit*, wherby the World is apt to beleeve that His Majeſty had Inclinations to Popery.

Ther goe's alſo herewith,

A clearing of ſom Aſperſions that the ſaid Mr. *Pryn* caſt's upon the Author hereof in the ſame Pamphlet, *viz.* That he was a Malignant, and no friend to Parlements.

WHERBY,

He takes occaſion to ſpeak ſomthing of the firſt Riſe, And alſo of the *Duty* as well as the *Authority* of *Parlements*.

To my worthily honor'd friend Sir *W. S.* Knight.

SIR,

I Have many thanks to give you for the Book you pleaſed to ſend me, called the Popiſh Royal Favorite; *and according to your* advice *(which I value in a high degree) I did put pen to paper, and ſomthing you may ſee I have done (though in a poor pamphleting way) to clear my ſelf of thoſe aſperſions that ſeem to be caſt upon His Majeſty; But truly Sir, I was never ſo unfit for ſuch a task; all my Papers, Manuſcripts, and Notes having bin long ſince ſeized upon and kept from me: Adde hereunto, that beſides this long preſſure and languiſhment of cloſe reſtraint (the ſenſe wherof I find hath much ſtupified my ſpirits) it pleaſed God to viſit me lately with a dangerous fit of ſickneſs, a high burning fever, with the new diſeaſe, wherof my* Body *as well as my* Mind *is yet ſomwhat crazie: ſo that (take all*

afflictions together) I may truly say, I have passed the Ordeal, *the fiery Tryal. But it hath pleased God to reprieve me to see better daies I hope; for out of this fatal black* Cloud, *which now ore-sets this poor* Island, *I hope ther will break a glorious Sun-shine of peace and firm happinesse: To effect which, had I a* Jury, *a* grand-Jury *of lives, I wold sacrifice them all, and triumph in the oblation.*

So I most affectionately kiss your hands, and rest

Your faithfull (though *afflicted*) Servant,

From the Prison
of the *Fleet.*

J. H.

The Pre-eminence, and Duty OF *PARLEMENT.*

Sectio Prima.

I Am a Free-born *Subject* of the Realm of *England*; wherby I claim as my native Inheritance, an undoubted right, propriety, and portion in the Laws of the Land: And this distinguisheth me from a *slave*. I claim likewise *protection* from my *Soverain Prince*, who as He is my *Liege Lord* is obliged to *protect me*, and I being one of His *Liege peeple* am obliged to obey Him by way of Reciprocation; I claim also an interest and common right in the High National Court of *Parlement*, and in the power, the priviledges and jurisdiction therof, which

I put in equal ballance with the *Laws*, in regard it is the *fountain whence they ſpring*; and this I hold alſo to be a principall part of my Birth-right; which Great *Councell* I honour, reſpect, value, and love in as high a degree as can be, as being the *Bulwark of our liberties, the main boundary and bank which keeps us from ſlavery, from the inundations of tyrannicall Rule, and unbounded Will-government.* And I hold my ſelf obliged in a tye of indiſpenſable obedience, to conform and ſubmit my ſelf to whatſoever ſhall be tranſacted, concluded, and conſtituted by its authority in Church or State with the Royal aſſent, whether it be by making, enlarging, altering, diminiſhing, diſanulling, repealing, or reviving of any Law, Statute, Act, or Ordinance whatſoever, either touching matters Eccleſiaſtical, civil, common, capital, criminall, martial, maritime, municipall, or any other; of all which the tranſcendent and uncontrollable juriſdiction of that Court is capable to take cognizance.

Amongſt the three things which the *Athenian* Captain thank'd the gods for, one was, That he was born a *Grecian*, and not a *Barbarian*; For ſuch was the vanity of the *Greeks*, and after them of the *Romans* in the flouriſh

flouriſh of their Monarchy, to arrogat all *civility* to themſelves, and to terme all the world beſides *Barbarians* : ſo I may ſay to rejoyce, that I was born a vaſſall to the Crown of *England*; that I was born under ſo well-moulded and tempered a Government, which endows the ſubject with ſuch Liberties and infranchiſements that bear up his naturall courage, and keep him ſtill in heart; ſuch Liberties that fence and ſecure him eternally from the gripes and tallons of *Tyranny*: And all this may be imputed to the Authority and wiſedome of this High Court of *Parlement*, wherein there is ſuch a rare co-ordination of power (though the *Soveraignty* remain ſtill entire, and untransferrable in the perſon of the *Prince*) there is ſuch a wholſom mixture 'twixt *Monarchy*, *Optimacy*, and *Democracy*, 'twixt Prince, Peers, and Commonalty, during the time of conſultation, that of ſo many diſtinct parts, by a rare co-operation and unanimity they make but one *Body Politick*, (like that ſheaſe of arrows in the Emblem) one entire concentricall peece, the King being ſtill the Head, and the reſults of their deliberations but as ſo many harmonious diapaſons ariſing from different ſtrings. And what greater

immunity

immunity and happineſſe can there be to a Peeple, than to be liable to no Laws but what they make themſelves? to be ſubject to no contribution, aſſeſſement, or any pecuniary erogations whatſoever, but what they Vote, and voluntarily yeeld unto themſelves? For in this compacted *Politick Body*, there be all degrees of peeple repreſented; both the Mechanick, Tradeſman, Merchant, and Yeoman have their incluſive Vote, as well as the Gentry, in the perſons of their Truſtees, their Knights and Burgeſſes, in paſſing of all things.

Nor is this Soveraign *Surintendent Councell* an Epitome of this Kingdom only, but it may be ſaid to have a repreſentation of the whole Univerſe; as I heard a fluent well-worded *Knight* deliver the laſt *Parliament*, who compared the beautifull compoſure of that High Court to the great work of God, the World it ſelf: The King is as the Sun, the Nobles the fixed Stars, the Itineant judges and other Officers (that go upon Meſſages 'twixt both Houſes) to the *Planets*; the Clergy, to the *Element of fire*; the Commons, to the ſolid *Body* of Earth, and the reſt of the Elements. And to purſue this compariſon a little farther; as the heavenly Bodies, when three of them meet in *Conjunction*,

on, do uſe to produce ſome admirable effects in the Elementary World ; So when theſe *three States* convene and aſſemble in one ſolemne great *Iunta*, ſome notable and extraordinary things are brought forth, tending to the welfare of the whole Kingdom our *Microcoſme*.

HE that is never ſo little verſed in the Annals of this Ile, will find that it hath bin her fate to be four times *conquered*, I exclude the *Scot* for the ſcituation of his Country, and the Quality of the Clime hath been ſuch an advantage and ſecurity to him, that neither the *Roman Eagles* would fly thither for fear of freezing their wings, nor any other Nation attempt the work.

Theſe ſo many Conqueſts muſt needs bring with them many tumblings and toſſings, many diſturbances and changes in Government; yet I have obſerved, that notwithſtanding theſe tumblings, it retained ſtill the forme of a *Monarchy*, and ſomething there was always that had an Analogy with the great Aſſembly of *Parlement*.

The firſt Conqueſt I find was made by *Claudius Cæſar*, at which time (as ſome well obſerve) the *Roman Enſignes*, and the *Standard of Chriſt* came in together: It is well known

known what Lawes the *Roman* had; He had his *Comitia*, which bore a resemblance with our Convention in *Parlement*; the place of their meeting was called *Prætorium*, and the Laws which they enacted, *Plebiscita*.

The *Saxon* Conquest succeeded next, which were the *English*, there being no name in *Welsh* or *Irish* for an English man, but *Saxon*, to this day; They also governed by Parlement, though it were under other names, as *Michel Sinoth*, *Michel Gemote*, and *Witenage Mote*.

There are Records above a thousand years old of these *Parlements* in the Reigns of King *Ina*, *Offa*, *Ethelbert*, and the rest of the seven Kings during the *Heptarchy*: The *British* Kings also, who retain'd a great while some part of the Isle unconquered, governed and made Laws by a kind of Parlementary way; witnesse the famous Laws of Prince *Howell*, called *Howell Dha*, (the good Prince *Howell*) whereof there are yet extant some British Records: *Parlements* were also used after the *Heptarchy* by King *Kenulphus*, *Alphred*, and others; witnesse that renowned Parliament held at *Grately* by King *Athelstan*.

The third Conquest was by the *Danes*, and

and they govern'd alſo by ſuch generall Aſſemblies, (as they do to this day) witneſſe that great and ſo much celebrated Parlement held by that mighty Monarch *Canutus*, who was King of *England*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, and other Regions 150 years before the compiling of *Magna Charta*; and this the learned in the Laws do hold to be one of the ſpecialſt, and moſt authentick peeces of antiquity we have extant. *Edward* the Confeſſor made all his Laws thus, (and he was a great *Legis-lator*,) which the *Norman* Conquerour (who liking none of his ſons, made *God Almighty* his *heir* by bequeathing unto him this Iſland for a *legacy*) did ratifie and eſtabliſh, and digeſted them into one entire methodicall Syſteme, which being violated by *Rufus*, (who came to ſuch a diſaſtrous end as to be ſhot to death in lieu of a *Buck* for his ſacriledges) were reſtor'd by *Henry* the firſt, and ſo they continued in force till King *Iohn*; whoſe Reign is renowned for firſt confirming *Magna Charta*, the foundation of our Liberties ever ſince: which may be compar'd to divers *outlandiſh graffes ſet upon one Engliſh ſtock*; *or to a poſie of ſundry fragrant flowers*; for the choiceſt of the *Britiſh*, the *Roman*, *Saxon*, *Daniſh*, and *Norman*

Lawes

Laws, being cull'd and pick'd out and gathered as it were into one bundle, out of them the foreſaid *Grand Charter* was extracted; And the eſtabliſhment of this great Charter was the work of a Parliament.

Nor are the Lawes of *this Iſland* only, and the freedome of the Subject conſerved by *Parlement*, but all the beſt policed Countries of *Europe* have the like. The Germanes have their *Diets*, the Danes and Swedes their *Rijcks Dachs*; the Spaniard calls his Parlement *las Cortes*; and the French have, (or ſhould have at leaſt) their *Aſſembly of three States*, though it be growne now in a manner obſolete, becauſe the Authority thereof was (by accident) devolv'd to the *King*. And very remarkable it is, how this happened; for when the *Engliſh* had taken ſuch large footing in moſt parts of *France*, having advanced as far as *Orleans* and driven their then King *Charles* the ſeventh, to *Bourges* in *Berry* the *Aſſembly of the three States* in theſe preſſures, being not able to meet after the uſuall manner in full *Parlement* becauſe the Countrey was unpaſſable, the Enemy having made ſuch firme invaſions up and down through the very bowels

els of the Kingdom; That power which formerly was inhærent in the *Parlementary Assembly*, of making Laws, of assessing the Subject with Taxes, subsidiary levies, and other impositions, was transmitted to the *King* during the war; which continueth many years, that entrusted power by length of time grew as it were habitual in him, and could never after be re-assumed and taken from him; so that ever since, his *Edicts* countervaile *Acts* of *Parlement*. And that which made the businesse more feasable for the *King*, was, that the burthen fell most upon the *Communalty* (the Clergy and Nobility not feeling the weight of it) who were willing to see the *Peasan* pull'd down a little, because not many years before, in that notable Rebellion, call'd *la jaquerie de Beauvoisin*, which was suppressed by *Charles the wise*, the Common people put themselves boldly in Arms against the Nobility and Gentry, to lessen their power. Adde hereunto as an advantage to the work, that the next succeeding King *Lewis the eleventh*, was a close cunning Prince, and could well tell how to play his game, and draw water to his own mill; For amongst all the rest, he was said to be the first that put the Kings

of France, *Hors de page*, out of their minority, or from being *Pages* any more, though therby he brought the poor *peasans* to be worse than *Lacquays*, and they may thank *themselfs* for it.

Nevertheless, as that *King* hath an advantage hereby one way, to *Monarchize* more absolutely, and never to want money, but to *ballast his purse* when he will; so ther is another mighty inconvenience ariseth to him and his whole Kingdom another way; for this peeling of the *Peasan* hath so dejected him, and cowed his native courage so much by the sense of poverty (*which brings along with it a narrownesse of soul*) that he is little usefull for the war: which put's the *French* King to make other Nations mercenary to him, to fill up his *Infantery*: Insomuch, that the Kingdom of *France* may be not unfitly compared to a body that hath all it's bloud drawn up into the arms, breast and back, and scarce any left from the girdle downwards, to cherish and bear up the lower parts, and keep them from starving.

All this seriously considered, ther cannot be a more proper and pregnant example than this of our *next Neighbours*, to prove how

how infinitly neceſſary the *Parlement* is to aſſert, to prop up and preſerve the publick liberty, and national rights of a peeple, with the incolumity and well-fare of a Countrey.

Nor doth the *Subject* only reap benefit thus by *Parlement*, but the *Prince*, (if it be well conſider'd) hath equal advantage therby; It rendreth him a King of *free* and *able* men, which is far more glorious than to be a King of *Cowards*, *Beggars*, and *Bankrupts*; Men that by their freedom, and competency of wealth, are kept ſtill in heart to do him ſervice againſt any forrain force. And it is a trũ maxime in all States, that 'tis leſſe danger and diſhonour for the Prince to be poor, than his people: Rich Subjects can make their King rich when they pleaſe, if he gain their hearts, he will quickly get their purſes. *Parlement* encreaſeth love and good intelligence 'twixt him and his peeple, it acquaints him with the reality of things, and with the trũ ſtate and diſeaſes of his Kingdom, it brings him to the knowledg of his better ſort of Subjects, and of their abilities, which he may employ accordingly upon all occaſions; It provides for his Royal Iſſue, pays his debts, finds means to fill his Coffers:

and it is no ill obſervation, That Parlement-moneys (the great Aid) have proſpered beſt with the Kings of *England*; It exceedingly raiſeth his repute abroad, and enableth him to keep his *foes in fear, his Subjects in awe, his Neighbours and Confederates in ſecurity*, the three main things which go to aggrandize a Prince, and render him glorious. In ſumme, it is the *Parlement* that ſupports, and bears up the honour of his Crown, and ſettles his Throne in ſafety, which is the chief end of all their conſultations: For whoſoever is entruſted to be a Member of this High Court, carryeth with him a double capacity; he ſits ther as a *Patriot*, and as a *Subject*: as he is the one, the *Country* is his object, his duty being to vindicat the publick liberty, to make wholſom Lawes, to put his hand to the pump, and ſtop the leaks of the great veſſel of the State, to pry into, and puniſh corruption and oppreſſion, to improve and advance trade, to have the grievances of the *place* he ſerves for redreſſed, and caſt about how to find ſomthing that may tend to the advantage of it.

But he muſt not forget that he ſits ther alſo as a *Subject*, and according to that capacity, he muſt apply himſelf to do his *Soveraigns* buſi-

buſineſſe, to provide not only for his *publick*, but his *perſonall* wants; to bear up the luſtre and glory of his *Court*; To conſider what occaſions of extraordinary expences he may have, by encreaſe of Royal Iſſue, or maintenance of any of them abroad; To enable him to vindicat any affront or indignity that might be offered to his Perſon, Crown, or Dignity, by any *forrain* State or Kingdom, or *inteſtin* Rebellion; To conſult what may enlarge his *honour*, *contentment*, and *pleaſure*. And as the French *Tacitus* (*Comines*) hath it, the Engliſh Nation was uſed to be more forward and zealous in this particular than any other; according that to ancient eloquent ſpeech of a great *Lawyer*, *Domus Regis vigilia defendit omnium, otium illius labor omnium, delicia illius induſtria omnium, vacatio illius occupatio omnium, ſalus illius periculum omnium, honor illius objectum omnium.* Every one ſhold ſtand Centinell to defend the Kings houſe, his *ſafety* ſhold be the *danger* of all, his *pleaſures* the *induſtry* of all, his *eaſe* ſhold be the *labour* of all, his *honour* the *object* of all.

Out of theſe premiſſes this concluſion may be eaſily deduced, That, *the principall fountain whence the King derives his happineſs*

and ſafety, is his Parlement; It is that great Conduit-pipe which conveighes unto him his peoples bounty and gratitude; The trueſt Looking-glaſſe wherin he diſcernes their loves; (now *the Subjects love hath been always accounted the prime Cittadell of a Prince.*) In his *Parlement* he appears as the Sun in the Meridian, in the altitude of his glory, *in his higheſt State Royal*, as the Law tells us.

Therfore whoſoever is averſe or diſaffected to his Soveraign Law-making Court, cannot have his heart well planted within him, he can be neither good *Subject*, nor good *Patriot*, and therfore unworthy to breath Engliſh aire, or have any benefit, advantage, or protection from the Laws.

Sect.

Sectio Secunda.

BY that which hath bin ſpoken, *which is the language of my heart*, I hope no indifferent judicious Reader will doubt of the cordiall affection, of the high reſpects and due reverence I bear to *Parlement*, as being the wholſomeſt conſtitution, (and done by the higheſt and happieſt reach of policy that ever was eſtabliſhed in this *Iſland*) to perpetuate the happineſſe therof. Therfore I muſt tell that *Gentleman*, who was Author of a Book entituled *the Popiſh Royal Favorite*, (lately printed and expoſed to the world) that he offers me very hard meaſure; nay, he doth me apparent wrong, to term me therin, *No friend to Parlement, and a Malignant*: A character, which as I *deſerve* it not, ſo I *diſdain* it.

For the firſt part of his charge, I wold have him know, that I am as much a *friend and as reall an affectionat humble ſervant and*

Notary to the *Parlement* as possibly he can be, and will live and die with these affections about me: And I could wish, that he were Secretary of my thoughts a while, or if I may take the boldnesse to apply that comparison his late Majesty used in a famous speech to one of his *Parlements*, I could wish ther were a Chrystal window in my breast, through which the world might espye the inward motions and palpitations of my heart, then would he be certified of the sincerity of this protestation.

For the second part of his Charge, to be a *Malignant*, I must confesse to have som *Malignity* that lurks within me much against my will; but it is no *malignity* of *mind*, it is amongst the *humors*, not in my *intellectuals*; And I believe, ther is no naturall man, let him have his *humors* never so well ballanced, but hath som of this *Malignity* reigning within him; For as long as we are composed of the four *Elements*, whence these *humors* are derived, and with whom they symbolize in qualities; which *Elements* the Philosophers hold to be in a restlesse contention amongst themselves (and the Stoick thought that the world subsisted by this innated mutual strife) as long I say, as the four *humors*, in imita-

imitation of their principles (the *Elements*) are in perpetual reluctancy and combate for prædominancy, ther muſt be ſom *malignity* lodg'd within us, as aduſted choler, and the like; wherof I had late experience, in a dangerous fit of ſickneſſe it pleaſed God to lay upon me, which the Phyſitians told me proceeded from the *malignant* hypocondriacall effects of *melancholy*; having bin ſo long in this *Saturnine* black condition of cloſe impriſonment, and buryed alive between the walls of this fatal *Fleet*: Theſe kinds of *malignities*, I confeſſe are very rife in me, and they are not only incident, but connaturall to every man according to his complexion; And were it not for this inceſſant ſtrugling and enmity amongſt the *humors* for maſtery, which produceth ſuch *malignant* effects in us, our ſouls wold be loth ever to depart from our bodies, or to abandon this manſion of clay.

Now what *malignity* my *Accuſer* means, I know not; if he means *malignity* of *ſpirit*, as ſom antipathy or ill impreſſion upon the mind, ariſing from diſaffection, hatred, or rancor, with a deſire of ſom deſtructive revenge, he is mightily deceived in me; I *maligne* or hate no Creature that ever God made

made but the *Devill*, who is the Author of all *malignity*; and therfore is moſt commonly called in French *le Malin Eſprit*, the *malignant ſpirit*. Every night before I go to bed, I have the grace, I thank God for it, to forgive all the world, and not to harbour, or let rooſt in my boſom the leaſt *malignant* thought; yet none can deny, but the publick aſperſions which this my *Accuſer* caſts upon me, were enough to make me a *malignant* towards *him*; yet it could never have the power to do it: For I have prevail'd with my ſelf to forgive him this his wrong cenſure of me, iſſuing rather from his *not-knowledge* of me, than from *malice*, for we never mingled ſpeech, or ſaw one another in our lives to my remembrance; which makes me wonder the more, that a Profeſſor of the *Law*, as he is, ſhold pronounce ſuch a poſitive ſentence againſt me ſo ſlightly. But methinks I over-hear him ſay, that my precedent diſcourſe of *Parlement* is involv'd in generals, and the Topique Axiome tells us, that *Dolus verſatur in univerſalibus*, ther is double dealing in univerſals: His meaning is, that I am no friend to this preſent *Parlement* (though he ſpeaks in the plurall number *Parlements*) and conſequently, he

he concludes me a *Malignant*; Therin I muſt tell him alſo, that I am traduc'd, and I am confident it will be never prov'd againſt me, from any *actions*, *words*, or *letters* (though divers of mine have bin intercepted) or any other miſdemeanor, though ſom things are father'd upon me which never drop'd from my quill. Alas, how unworthy and uncapable am I to cenſure the proceedings of that great *Senate*, that high *Synedrion*, wherin the wiſdom of the whole State is epitomized? It were a preſumption in me, of the higheſt nature that could be: It is enough for me to *pray* for the proſperous ſucceſſe of their conſultations: And as I hold it my *duty*, ſo I have good *reaſon* ſo to do, in regard I am to have my ſhare in the happineſſe; And could the utmoſt of my poor endeavours, by any miniſterial humble office (and ſomtimes the meaneſt *Boat-ſwain* may help to preſerve the Ship from ſinking) be ſo happy, as to contribut any thing to advance that great work (which I am in deſpair to do, while I am thus under *hatches* in this *Fleet*,) I wold eſteem it the greateſt honor that poſſibly could befall me, as I hold it now to be my greateſt diſaſter, to have fallen ſo heavily under an affliction of this nature, and to be made a ſacri-

fice

fice to publick *fame*, than which there is no other proof, nor that yet urg'd againſt me, or any thing elſe produc'd after ſo long, ſo long captivity which hath brought me to ſuck a low ebbe, and put me ſo far behind in the courſe of my poor fortunes, and indeed more than halfe undone me. For although my whole life (ſince I was left to my ſelf to *ſwim*, as they ſay, *without Bladders*) has bin nothing elſe but a continued ſucceſſion of croſſes, and that there are but few red letters found (God wot) in the Almanack of my Age, (for which I account not my ſelf a whit the leſſe *happy*) yet this croſſe has carried with it a greater weight, it hath bin of a larger extent, longer continuance, and lighted heavier upon me than any other; and as I have *preſent patience* to beare it, ſo I hope for *ſubſequent grace* to make uſe of it accordingly, that my old Motto may be ſtill confirmed, παθήματα, μαθήματα.

HE produceth my atteſtation for ſome paſſages in *Spaine* at his Majeſties being there, and he quotes me right, which obligeth me to him; and I hope all his *quotations* wherein he is ſo extraordinarily copious and elaborate in all his workes, are ſo; yet I muſt

must tel him, that those interchangeable letters which pass'd between His Majesty & the *Pope*, which were originally couch'd in *Latin*, the language wherin all Nations treat with *Rome*, and the *Empire* with all the Princes thereof, those letters I say are adulterated in many places, which I impute not to him, but to the *French Chronicler*, from whom he took them in trust. The truth of that businesse is this; The world knows there was a tedious treaty of an Alliance 'twixt the Infanta *Dona Maria* (who now is *Empresse*) and His Majesty, which in regard of the slow affected pace of the *Spaniard*, lasted above ten yeares, as that in *Henry* the sevenths time, 'twixt Prince *Arthur*, and (afterwards) Queen *Katherine*, was spun out above seven: To quicken, or rather to *consummate* the work, his Majesty made that adventurous journey through the whole Continent of *France* into *Spaine*; which voyage, though there was a great deale of gallantry in it (wherof all posterity will ring untill it turne at last to a *Romance*) yet it prov'd the bane of the businesse, which 'tis not the errand of so poor a Pamphlet as this to unfold. His Majesty being there arriv'd, the ignorant common people cried out, the

Prince

Prince of *Wales* came thither to make himself a *Christian*; The *Pope* writ to the *Inquisitor Generall*, and others, to use all industry they could to reduce him to the *Romane* Religion; And one of *Olivares* first complements to him, was, *That he doubted not but that his Highnesse came thither to change His Religion:* whereunto he made a short answer, *That He came not thither for a Religion but for a Wife:* There were extraordinary processions made, and other artifices us'd by protraction of things, to make him stay ther of purpose till the Spring following, to work upon him the better; And the *Infanta* her self desir'd him (which was esteem'd the greatest favour he received from her all the while) to visit the *Nunne of Carton*, hoping that the say'd Nunne, who was so much cried up for miracles, might have wrought one upon him; but her art failed her, nor was His Highness so weak a subject to work upon according to His late Majesties speech to Doctor *Mawe* and *Wren*, who when they came to kisse his hands before they went to *Spaine* to attend the Prince their Master, *He wished them to have a care of* Buckinham; *as touching his Sonne* Charles, *he apprehended no feare at all of him; for he knew him to be so*

well

well grounded a Proteſtant, *that nothing could ſhake him in his Religion.*

The Arabian proverb is, That the Sun never ſoiles in his paſſage, though his beams reverberate never ſo ſtrongly, and dwell never ſo long upon the myry lake of Mæotis, the black turf'd moores of *Holland*, the aguiſh wooſe of *Kent* and *Eſſex*, or any other place, be it never ſo dirty; Though *Spaine* be a hot Countrey, yet one may paſſe and repaſſe through the very Center of it, and never be Sun-burnt, if he carry with him a Bongrace, and ſuch a one His Majeſty had.

Well, after his Majeſties arrivall to *Madrid*, the treaty of Marriage went on ſtill, (though he told them at his firſt comming, that he came not thither like an *Ambaſſador* to treat of a Marriage, but as a *Prince*, to fetch home a Wife;) and in regard they were of different Religions, it could not be done without a diſpenſation from the *Pope*, and the *Pope* would grant none, unleſſe ſome Capitulations were ſtipulated in favour of the Romiſh Catholikes in *England*, (the ſame in ſubſtance were agreed on with *France*.) Well, when the diſpenſation came, which was negotiated ſolely by the

King

King of Spains Miniſters (becauſe His Majeſty would have as little to do as might be with *Rome*) Pope *Gregory* the fifteenth, who died a little after, ſent His Majeſty a Letter, which was delivered by the *Nuncio*, whereof an anſwer was ſent a while after: Which Letters were imprinted and expoſed to the view of the world, becauſe His Majeſty would not have people whiſper, that the buſineſſe was carried in a clandeſtine manner. And truly beſides this, I do not know of any Letter, or Meſſage, or Complement, that ever paſs'd twixt His Majeſty and the *Pope* afore or after; ſome addreſſes peradventure might be made to the Cardinalls, to whom the drawing of thoſe matrimoniall diſpatches was referred to quicken the work, but this was only by way of civil negotiation.

Now touching that *reſponſory* Letter from His Majeſty, it was no other than a Complement in the ſevereſt interpretation; and ſuch formalities paſſe 'twixt the Crown of *England*, the great *Turke*, the *Mogor* and divers Heathen Princes. The Pope writ firſt, and no man can deny, but by all morall rules, and in common humane civility His Majeſty was bound to anſwer it, ſpecially

cially considering how punctual they are in those Countries to correspond in this kind, how exact they are repaying visits, with the performance of such Ceremonies; And had this compliance bin omitted, it might have made very ill impressions, as the posture of things stood then; for it had prejudiced the great work in hand, I mean, the *Match*, which was then in the heat and height of agitation, His Majesties person was ther engaged, besides, and so it was no time to give the least offence: They that are never so little vers'd in businesse abroad, do know that ther must be addresses, compliances, and formalities of this nature us'd in the carriage of matters of State, as this great businesse was, wheron the eyes of all Christendom were so greedily fix'd; A businesse which was like to bring with it such an universal good, as the restitution of the *Palatinat*, the quenching of those hideous fires in *Germany*, and the establishing of a peace throughout all the Christian World.

I hope none will take offence, that in this particular which comes within the compasse of my knowledg (being upon the *Stage* when his Scene was acted) I do this right to the *King* my Master, in displaying the *Truth*,

and putting her forth in her own colours, a rare thing in theſe days.

TOuching the *Vocall Forreſt*, an Allegorical Diſcourſe, that goes abroad under my name, a good while before the beginning of this *Parlement*, which this *Gentleman* cites (and that very faithfully,) I underſtand ther be ſom that mutter at certain paſſages therin, by putting ill gloſſes upon the Text, and taking with the *left* hand, what I offer with the *right*, (Nor is it a wonder for trees which ly open, and ſtand expoſed to all weathers to be nipt.) But I deſire this favour, which in *common* juſtice, I am ſure in the Court of *Chancery* cannot be denyed me, it being the priviledge of every Author, and a received maxime through the World, *Cujus eſt condere, ejus eſt interpretari*; I ſay, I crave this favour, to have leave to expound my own Text, and I doubt not then but to rectifie any one in his opinion of me, and that in lieu of the Plums *which I give him from thoſe Trees, he will not throw the* ſtones *at me.*

Moreover, I deſire thoſe that are over criticall Cenſurers of that peece, to know, that as in Divinity it is a rule, *Scriptura parabolica*

holica manifeſt argumentative, ſo it is in all o-ther kind of knowledg; *Parables* (whereof that Diſcourſe is compoſed) *though preſſed never ſo hard, prove nothing*. Ther is ano-ther *Rule* alſo, That *Parables* muſt be gent-ly uſed, like a Nurſes breaſt; which if you preſſe too hard, you ſhall have *blood* in ſtead of *milk*.

But as the Author of the *Vocall Forreſt* thinks he hath done, neither his *Countrey*, nor the *Commom wealth* of *Learning* any prejudice therby (That *maiden fancy* ha-ving received ſo good entertainment and reſpect abroad, as to be tranſlated into di-vers Languages, and to gain the publick approbation of ſom famous Univerſities) So he makes this humble proteſt unto all the World, that though the deſigne of that Diſcourſe was partly *Satyricall* (which peradventure induc'd the Author to ſhrowd it of purpoſe under the ſhadowes of *trees*, and where ſhould Satyres be but amongſt Trees?) yet it never entred into his ima-gination to let fall from him the leaſt thing that might give any offence to the High and Honourable Court of *Parlement*, whereof he had the honour to be once a *Member*, and hopes he may be thought worthy again:

And were he guilty of such an offence, or *piacle* rather, he thinks he shold never forgive himself, though he were appointed his own Judge. If ther occur any passages therin, that may admit a hard construction, let the Reader observe, That the Author doth not positively assert, or passe a *judgement* on any thing in that Discourse, which consists principally of concise, cursory narrations of the choisest Occurrences and Criticismes of State, according as the pulse of time did beat then: And matters of State, as all other sublunary things, are subject to alterations, contingencies and change, which makes the opinions and minds of men vary accordingly.

I will conclude with this modest request to that *Gentleman of the long Robe*; That having unpassionately perus'd what I have written in this small *Discourse*, in penning wherof, my *conscience* guided my *quill* all along as well as my *hand*, he wold please to be so charitable and just, as to reverse that harsh sentence upon me, *To be no Friend to Parlements and a Malignant.*

A

GLANCE

UPON THE

ILE of WIGHT,

AND

Upon the unparallell'd Conceſsions of GRACE

HIS

MAJESTY

paſs'd in that Treaty, *&c.*

Concluding with the horrid Murther committed afterwards upon His Sacred Perſon.

Cui dabit partes ſcelus expiant
Jupiter?

A GLANCE
UPON THE
ILE of WIGHT,
OR AN
INQUISITION
AFTER
TRUTH.

WHo vindicats *Truth* doth a good office not onely to his *own Country*, but to all *Mankind*; It is the ſcope of this ſhort diſcourſe, *viz.* to make ſom reſearches after *Truth*, and to *rectifie* the would accordingly in point of *opinion*, ſpecially touching the firſt *Author* and Aggreſſor of the late ugly war in *England*, which brought with it ſuch an inundation of bloud, and ſo

did let in so huge a torrent of mischiefs to rush upon us. Ther be many, and they not only *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, but *Cavaliers* also, who think that the King had taken the guilt of all this bloud upon himself, in regard of that *Concession* he passed in the preamble of the late Treaty at the *Isle of Wight*; The aim of this Paper is to clear that point, but in so temperat a way, that I hope 'twill give no cause of exception, much lesse of offence to any: the bloud that's sought after here, shall not be mingled with *gaule*, much lesse with any *venom* at all.

We know ther is no Principle either in *Divinity*, *Law* or *Philosophy*, but may be wrested to a wrong sense; ther is no truth so demonstrative and clear, but may be subject to cavillations; no Tenet so plain, but perverse inferences may be drawn out of it; such a fate befell that preambular *Concession* His Majesty passed at the Transactions of the late Treaty, in that *he acknowledg'd therin that the two Houses of Parlement were necessitated to undertake a war in their own just and lawful defence, &c. and that therfore all Oaths, Declarations, or other public Instruments against the Houses of Parlement, or any for adhering*

hering to them, &c. be declared null, ſuppreſſed, and forbidden.

'Tis true, His Majeſty paſſed this grant, but with this weighty conſideration as it had reference to two ends.

Firſt, to ſmoothen and facilitate things thereby to open a paſſage, and pave the way to a happy peace, which this poor Iland did ſo thirſt after, having bin ſo long glutted with civil blood.

Secondly, that it might conduce to the further ſecurity, and the indemnifying of the two Houſes of Parlement, with all their inſtruments, aſſiſtants, and adherents, and ſo rid them of all jealouſies, and fear of future dangers which ſtill lodg'd within them. Now touching the expreſſions and words of this *Grant*, they were not his own, nor did he give order for the dictating or penning thereof; the King was not the *Author* of them, but an *Aſſentor* only unto them: nor was He or *his* Party accus'd, or as much as mentioned in any of them, to draw the leaſt guilt upon themſelves. Beſides, He paſs'd them as he doth all Lawes and Acts of Parlement, which in caſe of abſence another may do for him in his *politic* capacity, therfore they cannot prejudice his *perſon* any way. I am loth

to

to say that he condescended to this Grant,

— *Cum stricta novacula supra,*

When the razor was as it were at his throat, when ther was an Army of about thirty thousand effectif Horse and Foot that were in motion against him, when his Person had continued under a black long lingring restraint, and dangerous menacing Petitions and Papers daily obtruded against him. Moreover, His Majesty pass'd this *Concession* with these two provisos and reservations,

First, that it should be of no vertu or validity at all, till the whole Treaty were intirely consummated ;

Secondly, that he might when he pleas'd inlarge and cleer the truth with the *reservedness* of his meaning herein, by public Declaration: Now the Treaty being confusedly huddled up, without discussing, or as much as receiving any Proposition from himself as was capitulated, (and reciprocall *propositis are of the essence of all Treaties)* it could neither bind him, or turne any way to his disadvantage: Therfore under favour, ther was too much hast us'd by the Parlement, to draw that hipothetick or provisional Concession to the form of an *Act* so suddenly after

ter in the very heat of the Treaty, without His Majesties *knowledg*, or the least intimation of his pleasure.

Add hereunto, that this *Grant* was but a meer preambular Proposition, 'twas not of the essence of the Treaty it self: And as the Philosophers and Schoolemen tell us, there is *no valid proof can be drawn out of Proemes, Introductions* or *Corollaries* in any science, but out of the positive assertions and body of the Text, which is only argument-proof; so in the Constitutions and Laws of England, as also in all accusations and charges, forerunning prefaces & preambles (which commonly *weak* causes want most) are not pleadable: and though they use to be first in place, like gentlemen-Ushers, yet are they last in dignity, as also in framing, nor had they ever the force of Laws, but may be term'd their attendants to make way for them.

Besides, ther's not a syllable in this preface which repeals or connives at any former Law of the Land, therefore those Laws *that so strictly inhibit English Subjects to raise armes against their Liege Lord the King*, and those Lawes *è contrario* which *exempt from all dangers, penalties or molestation, any Subject that adheres to the person of the King in any cause or*

quarrell

buarrell whatsoever, are still in force.

Furthermore, this *introductory* Concession of the Kings, wherein he is contented to declare, That the two Houses were necessitated to take Armes for their defence, may be said to have relation to the *necessity*, *à parte pòst*, not *à parte antè*: *self-defence* is the universall Law of Nature, and it extends to all other cretures, as well as to the Rationall: As the fluent Roman Orator in that sentence of his, which is accounted among the Critiques the excellentest that ever drop'd from *Cicero*; *Est enim hæc non scripta, sed nata Lex quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsa arripuimus, hausimus; expressimus, ad quam non docti, sed facti, non instituti, sed imbuti sumus, ut si vita nostra in &c.* For this (meaning self-defence) is not a written, but a Law born with us; A Law which we have not learnt, receiv'd or read, but that which we have suck'd, drawn forth, and wrung out of the very brests of Nature her self; A Law to which we are not taught, but made unto, wherwith we are not instructed, but indued withall, that if our lifes be in jeopardy, &c. we may repel force by force. Therfore when the House of Parliament had drawn upon them a necessity of self defence (And I could

have

have wish'd it had bin againſt any other but their own *Soverain Prince*) His Majeſty was contented to acknowledge that neceſſity. As for example: A man of war meets with a Marchant man at Sea, he makes towards him, and aſſaults him; The Marchant man having a good ſtout veſſell under him, and reſolute, generous Seamen, bears up againſt him, gives him a whole broadſide, and ſhoots him 'twixt wind and water; ſo there happens a furious fight betwixt them, which being ended, the Marchant cannot deny but that the man of war, though the firſt Aſſailant, was neceſſitated to fight, and that juſtly in his own defence, which neceſſity he drew upon himſelf, and ſo was excuſable, *à poſteriori*, not *à priori*; As the Civilians ſpeak of a clandeſtine marriage, *Fieri non debuit, ſed factum valet*; It ought not to have been, but being done 'tis valid: whereunto relates another ſaying, *Multa ſunt quæ non niſi peracta approbantur*. Ther are many things which are not allowable til they are paſſ'd.

The Kings of *France* have had ſundry civil wars, They have had many bloudy encounters and claſhes with their Subjects, ſpecially the laſt King *Lewis* the thirteenth, which turn'd all at laſt to his advantage; Among other Treaties in that of *Loudun*, he

was

was by force of Article to publiſh an Edict, *Dont lequel le Roy approuvoit tout le paſſé comme ayant eſté fait pour ſon ſervice*, &c. Wherin the King approv'd of all that was paſs'd, as done for his ſervice, &c. and theſe conceſſions and extenuations are uſuall at the cloſe of moſt civil wars, but ther was never any further advantage made of them, then to make the adverſe party more capable of grace and pardon, as alſo to enable them to bear up againſt the brunt of Laws, and ſecure them more firmly from all after-claps; They were paſs'd in order to an *Act of Abolition*, to a generall pardon, and conſequently to a re-eſtabliſhment of Peace; now, *Peace and War* (we know) *are like Water and Ice, they engender one another*: But I do not remember to have read either in the French Hiſtory, or any other, that ſuch Royal Conceſſions at the period of any inteſtin war were ever wrung ſo hard, as to draw any inference from them, to caſt therby the guilt of bloud, or indeed the leaſt ſtain of diſhonour upon the *King*; For Royal Indulgences and grants of this nature are like nurſes breaſts, if you preſſe them gently ther will *milk* come forth, if you wring them too hard you will draw forth *blood* in lieu of milk:

milk: And I have obſerved that the concluſion of ſuch Treaties in France, both parties wold hugg and mutually embrace one another in a gallant way of national humanity; all rancor, all plundrings, ſequeſtration, and impriſonment wold ceaſe, nor wold any be proſecuted, much leſſe made away afterwards in cold bloud.

Touching the Comencer of this monſtrous war of ours, the world knows too well, that the firſt man of bloud was *Blewcap*, who ſhew'd Subjects the way, how to preſent their King with Petitions upon the *Pikes* point, and what viſible judgements have fallen upon him ſince, by ſuch confuſions of diſcord and peſtilence at home, and irreparable diſhonour abroad, let the world judge. The Iriſh took his riſe from him: and wheras it hath bin often ſuggeſted, that His Majeſty had foreknowledge therof, among a world of convincing arguments which may clear him in this particular, the Lord *Maguair* upon the ladder, and another upon the Scaffold, when they were ready to breath their laſt, and to appear before the Tribunall of heaven, did abſolutely acquit the King, and that *ſpontaneouſly* of their own accord, being unſought unto,

unto, but only out of a love to *truth*, and discharge of a good conscience: but touching those cruentous *Irish* wars, in regard ther was nothing wherof more advantage was made against His late Majesty, to imbitter and poyson the hearts of his Subjects against him then that Rebellion, I will take leave to wind up the main causes of them upon a small bottom as was spoken elsewhere.

1. They who kept intelligence and complyed with the *Scot*, in his first and second insurrection.

2. They who dismis'd the first Irish Commissioners (who came of purpose to attend our Parlement with som grievances) with such a short unpolitic harsh answer.

3. They who took off *Straffords* head, (which had it stood on, that Rebellion had never been) and afterwards retarded the dispatch of the Earl of *Leicester* from going over to be Lord-Lievtenant.

4. Lastly, they, who hindred part of that disbanded Army of 8000 men rais'd there by the Earl of *Strafford*, which His Majesty, in regard they were souldiers of fortune, and loose casheer'd men, to prevent the mischiefs that might befall that Kingdome, by their insolencies, had promised the two Spanish Ambas-

Ambaſſadors, the Marqueſſes of *Veloda* and *Malvezzi*, then reſident in this Court; which ſouldiers riſe up firſt of any, and put fire to the tumult to find ſomthing to do.

They, I ſay, who did all this, may be juſtly ſaid to have bin the tru cauſes of that horrid Inſurrection in *Ireland*; and conſequently 'tis eaſie to judge upon the account of whoſe ſouls muſt be laid the bloud of thoſe hundred and odd thouſand poor Chriſtians who periſhed in that war: and had it bin poſſible to have brought o're their bodies unputrified to *England*, and to have caſt them at the lower Houſe door, and in the preſence of ſom Members, which are now either ſecluded, or gone to give an account in another world, I believe their noſes wold have guſh'd out with bloud for diſcovery of the tru mutherers.

Touching this laſt fire-brand of war, which was thrown into *England*, who they were that kindled it firſt, the conſciences of thoſe indifferent and unbiaſſed men are fitteſt to be judges, who have bin curious to obſerve with impartial eyes, the carriage of things from the beginning.

I confeſſe, 'twas a fatal unfortunat thing,

that the King ſhold put ſuch a diſtance 'twixt his Perſon and his Parlement, but a more fatal and barbarous thing it was, that he ſhould be *driven* away from it, that there ſhould be a deſperate deſigne to ſurprize His Perſon, that *Ven* with his *Myrmidons*, and *Bourges* with his Bandogs, (for ſo they call'd the riffraff of the City they brought along with them) ſhould rabble him away, with above four parts in five of the Lords, and near upon two parts in three of the Commons: Yet 'tis fit it ſhould be remembred, what reiterated Meſſages His Majeſty ſent from time to time afterward, That he was alwaies ready to return, provided there might be a courſe taken to ſecure his Perſon, with thoſe Peers and other who were rioted away from the Houſes; 'Tis fit it ſhould be remembred, that there was not the leaſt motion of war at all, till *Hotham* kept His Majeſty out of His own Town *Kingſton* upon Hull, (for the Name whereof ſhew'd whoſe Town it was) where being attended by a few of His meniall Servants, he came onely to viſit her, having peaceably ſent the Duke of *York*, and the *Palſgrave* thither the day before) which act of *Hotham*'s by

by ſhutting the gates againſt him was voted warrantable by the Houſe of Commons, and it may be call'd the firſt thunderbolt of War: 'Tis fit it ſhould be remembred, that a while after there was a compleate Army of 16000. effectif Horſe and Foot inrolled in and about London to fetch him to his Parliament by force, and remove ill *Counſellours* from about him, (long before he put up his Royal Standard) and the Generall then nam'd was to live and die with them: and very obſervable it is, how that Generalls Father was executed for a Traytor, for but attempting ſuch a thing upon Queen *Elizabeth*, I mean to remove ill Counſellors from about her by force. 'Tis alſo to be obſerved, that the ſame Army which was rais'd to bring him to his Parliament, was continued to a clean contrary end two years afterwards to keep him from his Parliament. 'Tis fit it ſhould be remembred, who *interdicted Trade* firſt, and brought in *Foraigners* to help them, and whoſe Commiſſions of War were neere upon two moneths date before the Kings. 'Tis fit it ſhould be remembred how His Majeſty in all His Declarations and publick

Instruments made alwaies deep Protestations, that 'twas not *against his Parliament* he raised Armes, but against some seditious *Members*, against whom he had onely desired the common benefit of the Law, but could not obtain it; 'Tis fit to remember, that after any good successes and advantages of his, he still Courted both Parliament and City to an Accommodation; how upon the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, with much importunity for the generall advantage and comfort of his people, and to prepare matters more fitly for a peace, he desired there might be freedom of Trade from Town to Town, and a Cessation of all Acts of Hostility for the time, that the inflammation being allayed, the wound might be cur'd the sooner; all which was denyed him. 'Tis fit to remember how a Noble Lord (The Earl of *Southampton*) at that time told the Parliaments Commissioners in His Majesties Name, at the most unhappy rupture of the said Treaty, *That when he was at the highest he would be ready to treat with them, and fight them when he was at the lowest:* 'Tis fit the present Army should remember how often both in their Propositions, and publick De-

Declarations they have inform'd the world, and deeply proteſted that their principall aime was to reſtore His Majeſty to honour, freedom and ſafety, whereunto they were formerly bound, both by their own Proteſtation and Covenant, that the *two Commanders* in chief pawn'd unto him their ſoules thereupon. Let them remember, that ſince he was firſt ſnatch'd away to the cuſtody of the Army by *Cromwells* plot, who ſaid, *that if they had the Perſon of the King in their power, they had the Parliament in their pockets.* I ſay being kept by the *Army*, He never diſpleas'd them in the leaſt particular, but in all his Overtures for Peace, and in all his Propoſitions he had regard ſtill *that the Army ſhould be ſatisfied:* let it be remembred, that to ſettle a bleſſed Peace, to preſerve his Subjects from rapine and ruine, and to give contentment to his Parliament, He did in effect freely part with His Sword, Scepter, and Crown, and ev'ry thing that was proprietary to him: Let it be remembred with what an admired temper, with what prudence and conſtancy, with what moderation and manſuetude he comported himſelf ſince his deep afflictions, inſo-

much that those Commissioners and others who resorted unto him, and had had their hearts so averse unto him before, return'd his Converts, crying him up to be one of the sanctifiedst persons upon earth: and will not the bloud of such a Prince cry loud for vengeance?

Bloud is a crying sin, *but that of* Kings
Cryes loudest for revenge, and ruine brings.

Let it be remembred, that though there be some Precedents of deposing Kings in his Kingdom, and elsewhere, when there was a competition for the right Title to the Crown by some other of the *bloud Royall*, yet 'tis a thing not onely unsampled, but unheard of in any age, that a King of *England* whose Title was without the least scruple, should be summon'd and arraign'd, tryed, condemned, and executed in His own Kingdom, by His own Subjects, and by the name of their own King, to whom they had sworn Alleagiance.

The meanest Student that hath but tasted the Laws of the Land can tell you, that it is an unquestionable fundamentall Maxime, *The King can do no wrong*, because he acts by the mediation of his Agents and Ministers, he heares with other

other mens eares, he ſees with other mens eyes, he conſults with other mens braines, he executes with other mens hands, and judges with other mens conſciences; therefore his Officers Counſellors or favorites are puniſhable, not *He*: and I know not one yet whom he hath ſpar'd, but ſacrificed to Juſtice. The Crown of England is of ſo coruſcant and pure a mettall, that it cannot receive the leaſt taint or blemiſh; and if there were any before in the perſon of the Prince, it takes them all away and makes him to be *Rectus in curia*. This as in many others may be exemplified in *Henry the Seventh*, and the late *Queen Elizabeth*: when ſhe firſt came to the Crown 'twas mention'd in Parlement, that the *attainder* might be taken off him, under which he lay all the time he liv'd an Exile in France; it was then by the whole houſe of Parlement reſolv'd upon the queſtion, that it was unneceſſary, becauſe the Crown purg'd all. So likewiſe when *Queen Elizabeth* was brought as it were from the *Scaffold* to the *Throne*; though ſhe was under a former attainder, yet 'twas thought ſuperfluous to take it off, for the

Crown washeth away all spots, and darteth such a brightnesse, such resplendent beams of Majesty, that quite dispell all former clouds: so that put case King *Iames* died a violent death, and his Son had been accessary to it, (which is as base a lie as ever the devil belch'd out) yet his accesse to the Crown had purged all. This businesse about the playster which was applyed to King *Iames*, was sifted and winnow'd as narrowly as possibly a thing could be in former Parlements, yet when it was exhibited as an Article against the Duke of *Buckingham*, 'twas term'd but a *presumption* or *misdemeanure* of a high nature: And 'tis strange that these new accusers shold make that a *parricide* in the King, which was found but a presumption in the Duke, who in case it had been so, must needs have been the chiefest Accessary.

And as the ancient Crown and Royall Diadem of England is made of such pure allay, and cast in so dainty a mould, that it can receive no taint, or contract the least speck of enormity and foulenesse in it self, so it doth endow the person of the Prince that weares it with such high Preroga-

rogatives; that it exempts him from all ſorts of publique blemiſhes; from all Attainders, Empeachments, Summons, Arraignments and Tryalls; nor is there or ever was any Law or Precedent in this Land, to lay any Crime or capitall charge againſt him, though touching civill matters: touching propertie of *meum* and *tuum*, he may be impleaded by the meaneſt vaſſall that hath ſworn fealty to him; as the Subjects of *France* and *Spaine* may againſt their Kings, though never ſo abſolute Monarchs.

In the Conſtitutions of England, there are two incontroulable Maximes, whereof the meaneſt mootman that hath but ſaluted *Littleton* cannot be ignorant: the firſt is, *Rex in ſuis Dominiis neque habet parem, nec ſuperiorem.* The King in his own Dominions hath neither Peer, or Superior. The other is *Satis habet Rex ad pœnam quod Deum expectet ultorem*: 'tis puniſhment enough for a King that God will take revenge of him: Therefore if it be the Fundamentall Conſtitution of the Land, that all juſt Tryalls muſt be by *Peers*, and that the Law proclaimes the King to have no *peer* in his own Dominions, I leave the world

world to judg, what capacity or power those men had to arraign their late King, to be in effect his *Accusers* and *Judges*; and that an exorbitant unsampled Tribunall should be erected, with power and purpose to condemn All to cleer none, and that sentence of death should passe without conviction or Law upon *Him* that was the heard and *protector* of all the Lawes. Lastly, that *They* who by their own confession represent but the Common *people*, should assume power to cut off *Him* who immediately represented *God*,

Cui dabit partes scelus expiandi
Iupiter ? ——

Well, we have seen such portentous things, that former Ages never beheld, nor will future Ages ever be witnesse of the like: Nay, posterity, after a Century or two of yeers will hold what is now really acted to be but *Romances*.

And now with thoughts full of consternation and horror, And a heart trembling with amazement and sorrow for the crying flagrant sins of this forlorn Nation, specially for that fresh *Infandous murther* committed upon

on the ſacred Perſon of his Majeſty, I conclude with this *Hepaſtick*, wherein all cretures (*though irrationall*) that have ſence, yea the very *vegetalls* ſeeme to abhor ſo damnable a fact.

So fell the Royal Oake *by a wild crew (grew;*
Of mongrel ſhrubs *which underneath* Him
So fell the Lion *by a pack of* Currs;
So the Roſe *witherd'twixt a knot of* Burrs.
So fell the Eagle *by a ſwarme of* Gnatts,
So the Whale *periſh'd by a Shoale of* Spratts.

In the priſon of the Fleet 25. *Febr.* 1648.

J. H.

ADVICE

Sent from the prime *Statesmen*

OF

FLORENCE,

HOW

ENGLAND may come

to *HERSELF* again,

Which is,

To call in the KING,

Not upon

ARTICLES,

But in a *Free* confident way:

Which *Advice* came immediatly upon the Readmission of the *Secluded* Members,

And *Coppies* therof being delivered to the *Chiefest* of Them.

It produc'd *happy* Effects.

A Letter ſent from the City of Florence, *Written by a Great Counſellor there, touching the preſent Diſtempers of* England; *wherein* He, *with ſom of the Prime Stateſmen in* Florence *paſſe their Judgements which is the onely way to compoſe the ſaid Diſtempers.*

To my Honored, and moſt Endeared Patron.

IT is no ſmall diminution to my former happineſſe that I have not receiv'd your commands any time theſe two moneths, which makes me lodg within me certain

tain apprehenſions of fear that ſom diſaſter might befall you in thoſe new Diſtractions, therefore I pray be pleaſed to pull this thorn out of my thoughts as ſpeedily as it may ſtand with your conveniency.

We are not here ſo barren of Intelligence, but we have weekly advice of your preſent Confuſions, and truly the ſevereſt ſort of ſpeculative perſons here who uſe to obſerve the method of *Providence*, do not ſtick to ſay, that the hand of Heaven doth viſibly ſtirre therein, and that thoſe Diſtractions in *Army*, *State*, and *City* are apparent judgements from above, for if one revolve the Stories of former Times, as I have done many (but you more) he will find that it hath been alwaies an inevitable Fate which uſeth to hang over all popular Inſurrections to end in confuſion and diſorders among the chief actors themſelfs at laſt; And we have had divers examples thereof here among us, which hath caus'd us to be ſo long in quietneſſe and peace.

But truly Sir, give me leave to tell you that your Nation hath loſt much of their *Repute* abroad all the World over

in

in ſtatu quo nunc; Som do *laugh* at you; Others do *ſcorn, and hate you*; And ſom do *pitty and comiſerat* you.

They who *laugh* at you, think you are no better than *Mand men*; having ſtrange Magots in your brains bred out of the fat of ſo long wanton plenty, and peace.

They who *ſcorn and hate* you, do it for your Sacriledge, your horrendous Sacrileges, the like whereof was never committed on Earth ſince *Chriſtianity* had firſt a hole to put her head in.

They who *pitty* you are few, and We are of the nomber of Them, as well in the common ſenſe of *Humanity*, as for the advantages, and improvement of Wealth which this *State* hath receiv'd by your Trading at *Ligorne*, for that Town doth acknowledge her proſperity, and that ſhe is arrived to this flouriſhing Eſtate of Riches, of Buildings and bravery by the correſpondence ſhe hath had this latter Age with *England* in point of *Commerce*, which yet we find doth inſenſibly impair every day, and I believe you feel it more; Therefore out of the well-

wiſhes, and true affections we bear unto *England*, ſome of the moſt ſerious, and ſobereſt Perſons of this place who are well ſeaſoned in the World, and have ſtudyed men under divers Climes, and converſed alſo much with Heavenly Bodies, had lately a private Junto, or meeting, whereunto I was admitted for one, and two of us had been in *England* where we received ſundry free Civilities; Our main buſineſſe was to diſcourſe, and deſcant upon theſe ſad confuſions, and calamitous condition wherein *England* with the adjoyning Kingdomes are at preſent involved, and what might extricate Her out of this Labyrinth of Diſtractions, and reduce Her to a ſetled Government; Having long canvaſed the buſineſſe, and banded arguments *pro & con* with much earneſtneſſe, all our opinions did concenter at laſt in this point, That there was no probable way under Heaven to ſettle a faſt, and firm Government among you, then for the Men that are now upon the Stage of power to make a ſpeedy application to their own King, their own Liege Lord

Lord and Soveraigne, whom God, and Nature hath put over them; Let them beat their brains, ſcrue up their witts, and put all the policy they have upon the tenterhooks as farre as poſſibly they can, yet they will never be able to eſtabliſh a durable ſtanding Government otherwiſe, They do but dance in a circle all this while, for the Government will turn at laſt to the ſame point it was before, *viz.* to *Monarchy*, and this King will be reſtored to His Royall Inheritances, maugre all the Cacodæmons of Hell: Our Aſtrologers here, ſpecially the famous *Antonio Piſelli* hath had notes to look into the horoſcope of his Nativity, and what predictions he hath made hitherto of him have proved true to my knowledge, He now confidently averrs, with the concurrence of the reſt, that the aſpect of all the ſtarrs, and conjunction of the Planetts much favour him the next two yeares; *Nam Medium cœli in Genitura Caroli ſecundi Regis Angliæ juxta axiomata Aſtrologiæ Genethliacæ dirigitur ad radios Sextiles Lunæ* Anno Domini 1660. *& ſignificat*

ſcat acceſſum ad Dominum, For the *Medium cœli* in the Geniture of *Charles* the Second according to the axiomes of Genethliacall Aſtrology is directed to the Sextile rayes of the Moon, and ſignifies an acceſſe to Dominion. Adde hereunto that a moſt lucky conjunction followes the ſame year, in the very Centre of the ſaid Kings horoſcope, betwixt *Jupiter* and *Sol* in the moneth of *September*.

When I was employed by this State in *Paris* not many years agoe, I had occaſion to make my addreſſe to your young King, and when I obſerved His Phyſiognomy, and the Lineaments of his face, I ſeemed to diſcern in it ſomething extraordinary above vulgar countenances, and that he carryed a Majeſty in His very looks, and noting beſides the goodly procerity, and conſtitution of His body, he ſeemed to be cut out for a King.

Now, in point of extraction, and lineage, it cannot be denyed but he is one of the greateſt born Princes that ever was in the world; for whereas His Grand-Father,

ther, and Father were allyed onely if you regard Forraigne Conſanguinity, to the Houſe of *Denmark* and the *Guyſes*, this King bears in his veines not onely that bloud, but alſo the blouds of all the great Princes of Chriſtendom, being nearly linked to the Houſe of *Bourbon* and *France*, to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and conſequently to the *Emperour*, and *Spaine*, as alſo to the Duke of *Savoy*, and our Grand-Duke: Moreover he is nearly allyed to all the greateſt Princes of *Germany*, as the *Saxe*, *Brandenburg*, *Bavaria*, the *Palſgrave*, and to the Duke of *Lorain* who deſcends in the directeſt line from *Charlemain*; Adde hereunto that the young Prince of *Orenge* is his Nephew, and which is conſiderable he is a pure *Engliſhman* born, whereas your two former Kings were Forreigners. The *Queen* His Mother is of as Glorious an Extraction, which makes me admire the frontleſſe impudence of ſome of your poor Pamphletors who call Her ever and anon the *Little Queen*, notwithſtanding that the World knowes Her to be the Daughter of *Henry* the *Great*, and Queen

of *Great* Britain, which Title and Character is indelible, and must die with Her.

Hereunto may be adjoyn'd, that this young King is now mounted to the Meridian of his Age, and maturity of judgement to govern, and doubtlesse hee is like to make a rare Governour, having this advantage of all other Soverain Princes in the world to have been bredd up in the Schoole of Affliction so long, to have Travelled so many strange Countreys and observed the humors of so many Nations.

But to come to the Cardinall point of our Communication, after divers debates, and alterations how *England* might be brought to a stable condition of tranquility and perfect peace, to her former lustre, and glory, the finall result of all, ended in this, that there was no other imaginable meanes to do it then for you to make a timely and fitting humble addresse unto your own King, and without question it is in his power to grant you such an absolute pardon, such an abolition of all things pass'd, such a gracious Amnestia, such Royall concessions

ceſſions that may extend to the ſecurity of every perſon for the future that was engaged in theſe your revolutions, both touching his life and fortunes; Unleſſe their guilt of Conſcience be ſuch that like *Cain* or *Judas* they thinke their Sinne is greater then can be forgiven them.

Now the *mode* of your application to *Him* may avail much, for if you chopp Logique with him too farr, and ſtand upon Puntillios, and too rigid termes, if you ſhew your ſelfs full of feares, jealouſies, and diſtruſts, it will intangle, and quite marr the buſineſſe, for in a Soveraign Prince ther muſt be an *Implicit*, unavoidable neceſſary truſt repos'd by his peeple, which all the Laws that mans brain can poſſibly invent cannot provide againſt; Therefore if you proceed in a frank, and confident tru Engliſh way you may work upon his affections more powerfully, and overcome him ſooner ſo, then by any outward Arms, This way will make ſuch tender impreſſions, upon that he will grant more then you can poſſibly expect.

Some Forein Hiſtorians as the French *Comines* and our *Guicciardin* do cry up the Engliſh Nation for uſing to *love* their King in a more intenſe degree then other peeple, and to regard his honour in a higher ſtrain, to ſupport which they have bin alwayes ſo ready, and cheerful both with their *perſons* and *purſes*; There is now a fair opportunity offered to rake up the embers of theſe old affections, and to recover the Reputation of tru Engliſhmen; There is no peeple but may ſometimes ſtand in their own light, go aſtray, and err, for Error was one of the firſt frailties that were entayled upon man (and his poſterity) as ſoon as he was thruſt out of *Paradis*; 'Tis a human thing to err, but to perſevere in an error is diabolicall; You ſhall do well and wiſely to follow the example of the Spaniſh Mule, who out of a kind of wantoneſſe being gone out of the high beaten road into a by path, which led her to a dirty narrow lane full of pitts and holes, at laſt ſhe came to the top of a huge hideous Rock where ſhe could go no farther, for before her ther was inevitable deſtruction, and the lane was ſo narrow that ſhe could not turn her

her body back, therupon in this extremity ſhe put one foot gently after an other, and Crablike went backward untill ſhe came again to the common road; This muſt be your courſe, by a gentle retrogradation to come into the *Kings* high road again, and ther is no queſtion but he will meet you more than three parts of the way: If you do not, truly in our opinions you will precipitat your ſelfs down a Rock of inevitable deſtruction; For Heaven and Earth are conſpir'd to reſtore him, and though all the Spirits of the Air ſhold joyn with you, you ſhall not be able to oppoſe it. I preſume you are not ignorant how rhe two great Monarks of *Spain* and *France* (which may be ſaid to be the main Poles wheron *Europe* doth move) have comprehended him within the private capitulations of peace, The Emperour hath promiſed to wed his quarrell, and there is no Prince or State in Chriſtendom but would gladly reach a frendly hand to reſtore him, being depriv'd of his birth-right, and his Royal *indubitable* Inheritance (as you your ſelfs confeſſe) for obſerving the fifth commandement, for obeying his Father and Mother; From which Birth-

right

right he may be said to have been thrust out when he was in the state of *Innocency*, being but in a manner a Child, and very young then.

Now touching your selfs I will not flatter you, but plainly tell you that you have not one friend any where beyond the Seas, nay your great Confederate the *Swed* (as I had good intelligence) could upbraid one of your Ambassadors that are now there, that *He had not washed his hands clean since they had been embrued in His Princes bloud.*

The time that I sojourned in *England* I was curious to read your Annals, and to make some inspections into your Laws, and Method of Government; as also into the Genius of the peeple, and I find there is no species of Government that suits better with the nature of the Inhabitants, the quality of the Clime, and relates more directly to the civil Constitutions, Laws, and Customs of the Land then *Monarchal*; The Ile of *Great Britain* hath been alwaies a Royall Island from her very Creation, from her Infancy, she may be said to have worn a Crown in her Cradle, and although she had

had four or five Revolutions and changes of Masters, yet she still continued Royal, whereunto alludes a saying that I observed in your old Records, *Britannia ab initio mundi semper fuit Regia, & Regimen Illius simile illi cælorum: Great Britain* hath been from the beginning of the World Royall, and Her Government like that of the Heavens.

Therefore, all these premises being weighed in the balance of true judgement you shall do well, and wisely to recollect your selfs, and call in your hopefull young King, whose Title your consciences do acknowledge to be unquestionable, otherwise it is not onely improbable but impossible for *England* to be *Her self* again, and to be setled in any stable Government which may reach to posterity; you may wind up your wits as high as you can, you may consult with your first, second, and third thoughts, but will never be able to settle a fixed Government, you will be still at a losse, your Debates will be like a skeyn of ravell'd threed, you will be in a labyrinth of confusions, and the end of one, will be still the beginning of another.

To

To conclude, the current and concurrent opinion of all Miniſters of State here both *Forren* and *Florentine* is, that if you do not make a timely application to your King, you will have all the Princes of Chriſtendom about your ears, and what a ſad calamitous Country, what an Aceldama will *England* be then? Therefore if there be a true Patriot, and publick ſoul amongſt you, if there be ever any drops of true *Engliſh* bloud running in your veins, or the leaſt ſpark of nationall fire and affections glowing in your boſoms toward your own dear Country, prevent theſe imminent dangers, and invite your King by diſcreet and moderate propoſals; The gallant *Samnit* General could tell the *Romans* who had over-powred them, that if they gave *them* eaſie and gentle capitulations they would perform them, but if they would tye them to too high and ſtrict terms, they would obſerve them no longer then they cold have opportunity to break them.

Touching the affairs of *Italy*, we are like to have a general bleſſed peace this ſide the *Alpes*, and *Lombardy* who hath been ſo pittifully haraſs'd a long time, and hath had her

her face so often scratch'd, is in a fair way to recover her former beauty; *Signor Giovanni Palavicino*, and *D. Lorenzo Minuccio* convey their most affectionate respects unto you, and so doth

Your Entire, and Faithfull Servant.

Florence *this* 12*th.*
of *March*, 1659.

There are divers other large Peeces tending to the same Subject, which shall be published in the second Tome.

FINIS.